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A QUARTERLY

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THE COPPER SCROLL — AN APOCRYPHON?*

SIGMUND MOWINCKEL

OSLO

ACCORDING to the *Manchester Guardian*, 6/1/1956, Professor H. Wright Baker of the Manchester College of Technology read at the College a statement from the former Director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, Mr. G. Lankester Harding, in which he says that the two copper scrolls "contain most surprisingly, a collection of traditions about the hiding places of ancient treasure, altogether about sixty hoards being described." These are situated over the fifty miles between Hebron and Mount Gerizim near Nablus. A straight line from Hebron to Nablus passes to the west of Jerusalem, leaving also the Israelite part of the city within the area concerned.

The total amount of gold and silver listed amounts to nearly 200 tons — "Obviously," says Harding, "a fantastic figure, and coupled with the depth at which some of the hoards are alleged to lie (16 to 18 feet), it makes one doubt the authenticity of the stories."

From the text itself are quoted the following: "In the cistern which is below the rampart, on the east side, in a place hollowed out of the rock: six hundred bars of silver . . .

"Close by, below the southern corner of the portico at Zadok's tomb, and underneath the pilaster in the exedra, a vessel of incense in pine wood, and a vessel of incense in cassia wood . . .

". . . In the pit nearby towards the north, near the graves, in a hole

* After this article — a more popular form of which I had published in the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten*, 7/27/1957 — had been written, Professor David N. Freedman in friendly wise called my attention to the article by Father J. T. Milik in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XIX:3 (Sept. 1956), 60 ff. (cf. the article by K. G. Kuhn in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Sept. 1956, pp. 541 f.), neither of which I at that time had had the opportunity to see. As Milik in all essentials has come to the same result as myself, it may seem unnecessary to publish my article. Nevertheless, it may not be unimportant to see that two scholars, independently of each other, have reached exactly the same conclusions. This may be considered a corroboration of the soundness of the hypothesis. I, therefore, have left my article in its original form, only adding some notes in brackets with references to Milik's article, and am thankful to the *JBL* for printing it.

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opening to the north, there is a copy of this book with explanations, measurements, and all details."[1]

Instead of "book" we should here have to translate *sephær* by "inscription" or "document."

Harding's doubt about the authenticity — not of the text itself as an old document, but of the "historical" content of the text — seems entirely justified.[2] Even if the Qumran Community may have called themselves "the poor ones" — *æbyonim*, the novice at his entrance had to give over his property to the community, and it may, therefore, have possessed treasures of silver and gold and other valuables. But treasures of such an amount as quoted above seem very improbable.

And why *incense*, mentioned on the same line as silver and gold? It can scarcely have been incense for profane use; that would not be in accordance with the very simple and ascetic way of life of the community. We must here have to do with the "holy incense" for use at the cultic service of the temple, the composition of which is prescribed in Exod 30 34–38, and the use of which outside the temple cult was forbidden under penalty of death. It is therefore highly improbable that the Qumran Community should have used this incense in connection with any of their own ritual ceremonies.

I therefore suppose that the text is dealing with the treasures of the temple of Jerusalem.

In this case, however, the inscription is not likely to speak of the treasures of the second temple. Right enough, the Qumranians in all probability were — as Professor H. H. Rowley kindly writes to me — in some way allied with the Zealots; Josephus tells that Essenians supplied a commander to the armies that fought the Romans, and that the Romans tortured some Essenes. But if the authorities of the temple had hidden its treasures somewhere out in the countryside, would they then have given over the knowledge of the hiding places to the Qumranians, to whom they stood in a very unfriendly relation, to say the least? Until the last moment the leaders in Jerusalem believed in the inviolability of the temple and hoped that the Lord himself would appear to save his sanctuary. It therefore seems very improbable that they would have hidden the treasures out in the open land before the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem. And after the beginning of the siege, which lasted for more than a year, it would have been both unwise and impossible to bring the treasures out and hide them somewhere in a country already occupied by the enemy.

This being the case, the inscription is much more likely to speak of

[1] [The same quotations are found in Milik's article.]

[2] [Milik: "It goes almost without saying that the document is not an historical record of actual treasures buried in antiquity."]

the treasures of the first temple and their being hidden before Nebuchadrezzar captured the city in 587 B. C.

But here we are concerned with the question about the nature — the *Gattung* — of the inscription.

Harding speaks about "a collection of *traditions*." I don't know his reasons for the use of this expression, but I feel that we have to underline "traditions." We are here not concerned with a contemporary document from that time, but with some later written fixation of "traditions," and let it be said at once: secondary, non-genuine, *legendary traditions*.[3]

The script of the document is, as Harding tells us, the usual square Aramaic-Hebrew of the time of the other Qumran texts. The language is, as Harding says, the earliest known text in colloquial Mishnaic Hebrew. The inscription belongs to the same period as the other Qumran texts.

Its content, interpreted with reference to the capture of Jerusalem in 587 B. C., is just as unhistorical as when interpreted in connection with the capture in 70 C. E. Then, too, the Judeans trusted in the inviolability of the temple; then, too, the whole countryside was occupied before the beginning of the siege. And moreover, the Bible tells us *expressis verbis* that the holy vessels were taken and brought to Babylon, and the same no doubt was done with the other treasures of the temple.

We know from later sources, however, that the pious minds of later times were not content with this course of events. Should not some pious "prophet" have succeeded, with the Lord's miraculous help, in saving His own treasures? The tradition was taken over by the imagination of legend. In II Macc 2 we read that the prophet Jeremiah, "being warned by God, commanded the tabernacle and ark to accompany him," and that he "went away to the mountain which Moses had climbed to view the inheritance of God. On reaching it Jeremiah found a cavernous chamber, in which he placed the tabernacle, and the ark and the altar of incense; and he made fast the door," so that even his followers were not able to find it any more. Jeremiah said to them: "Unknown shall the spot be until God gathers the people again together and mercy come; then indeed shall the Lord disclose these things." It is also said that all these things were narrated in ancient books.

In II Baruch 6, Baruch, just before the city was destroyed, "saw an angel descend into the Holy of Holies, and take from thence the veil, and the holy ark, and the mercy-seat, and the two tables, and the holy raiment of the priests, and the altar of incense, and the forty-eight precious stones wherewith the priest was adorned, and all the holy

[3] [Milik: "The characteristics of the document itself . . . place it firmly in the genre of folklore . . . . (It) is best understood as a summary of popular traditions, circulating among the folk of Judaea, put down by a semi-literate scribe."]

vessels of the tabernacle. And he spake to the earth with a loud voice: 'Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the mighty God; and receive what I commit to thee, and guard them unto the last times, so that, when thou art ordered, thou mayst restore them!' And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up."[4]

Outside the Damascus gate, near the Nablus Road, there is a grotto, called the grotto of Jeremiah, where according to another "tradition" he had hidden the holy ark and other temple treasures.[5]

We also hear about the Ta'eb, the Messiah of the Samaritans, that when he appears, he shall again bring to the fore the temple vessels, which until then are hidden in some secret place on Mount Gerizim.[6]

We thus see that the legends[7] and the apocalypses of late Judaism were seriously concerned with the fate of the temple treasures and that it was a belief of that time, that these had been hidden somewhere in Palestine. We also see that these ideas were connected with eschatology: at the end of days, i. e., this aeon, the hidden treasures again would reappear. Even of old "books" where these matters were recorded — perhaps at greater length — we hear. Against this background it is easy to conceive how such "traditions" may have been more and more elaborated in detail. A "tradition" of this sort I am inclined to see in the text of the copper scroll.

We know from all the Qumran finds: 1) that the Community was very well acquainted with the legendary and apocalyptic literature, which may at least in part have originated in Qumranite circles; 2) that they have lived in an atmosphere of strong eschatological ideas and expectations; and 3) that they were very much interested in the right order of the temple service, from which they had withdrawn because of its asserted irregularity, hoping for the restoration of its old purity and splendor at the appearance of the Messiah and the right priest.

It is in just such a milieu that old "traditions" like those of the copper scroll are likely to have been cultivated. It is noteworthy that both II Maccabees and II Baruch expressly mention the incense altar among the hidden treasures, as the copper scroll mentions the (holy) incense on a par with treasures of silver and gold.

Why and when may these traditions have been written down?

The Roman war, and perhaps already the years under Herod, when

[4] Quotations are from R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I–II (Oxford, 1913).

[5] Jesaias Press, *Neues Palästina-Handbuch* (Wien, 1934), pp. 274 ff.

[6] W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3rd ed. by H. Gressmann; Tübingen, 1926), p. 240.

[7] [Other treasure legends from Josephus and from Arabic times are quoted by Milik.]

the members of the community had felt it necessary to leave Qumran, must have seemed to them to be just "the last great tribulation," when the Sons of the Darkness had unfolded all their forces and brought the worst sufferings over the Elected Ones and even seemed to be able to exterminate them from the surface of the earth. Then the time had come to take care that the valuable secret knowledge about the holy treasures should not be forgotten. Therefore the "tradition" was written down, if not on a material *aere perennius*, then at least *ipso aere*.

It is only a consequence of my hypothesis that I conjecture that the "copy of this *sephær*" never existed. As nothing of the Hebrew text so far has been published, I cannot know what is the Hebrew word that Harding[8] has translated "copy." It may be מִשְׁנָה, or פַּרְשֶׁגֶן. But neither of these words must necessarily mean "(second) copy from an original"; they may only mean another exemplar, another specimen, even the "original" from which other samples are copied. I suppose that the author of the inscription did not mean a copy made by himself or by one of his companions, one which he had ever seen with his own eyes, but just one of those legendary apocryphal *s'phārim* of which II Maccabees speaks. This mythical original text, that he and his tradition claim to be dependent on, may have been ascribed to Jeremiah or Baruch or some other of the prophets of the past, who in the circles of the apocalyptists were considered their great authorities. The whole copper scroll is just an apocryphon, the written fixation of an apocryphic "tradition."

Certainty about these questions can only — if at all — be reached when the text, as far as it is legible, has been published. I am of course fully aware of the hypothetical character of my suggestion. That may be expressly said for the consolation of eventual treasure-hunters.

[8] [And Milik.]

ON THE TESTIMONY OF WOMEN IN 1QSa

JOSEPH M. BAUMGARTEN

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IN JBL, LXXVI, 108–22, Professor H. Neil Richardson presents a valuable English translation of the two additional columns of the Manual of Discipline, designated 1QSa. Although correcting the *editio princeps* on several points, Richardson follows Barthélemy in his interpretation of the very interesting regulation found in col. 1, line 11:

And at that time she will be received to bear witness of him (concerning) the judgments of the Law and to take (her) place in proclaiming the ordinances.	ובכן תקבל להעיד עליו משפטות התורא ולהתיצב במשמע כשפטים

According to Barthélemy this law specifies that when a novice in the community has reached the legal age for marriage, his wife becomes eligible for testifying against him concerning his violations of the Law and for participating in the general judicial proceedings of the sect. Apparently somewhat surprised by the presence of this "feminist" plank in the Qumran platform, Barthélemy explains:

> En ces temps où l'hellénisme exerçait son attrait sur la population palestinienne, la femme, naturellement plus fervente et plus traditionaliste, était chargée de veiller sur la fidélité do son mari et, le cas échéant, de le dénoncer aux autorités.[1]

On what grounds Barthélemy extols so generously the traditionalism of the Jewish women of the Hellenistic period is not clear. Certainly the women of the biblical period do not appear to have been markedly immune to the inroads of idolatry and heathen practices. Furthermore, this regulation would not only constitute a kind of converse to the biblical ordinance concerning the jealous husband, but it would give to the wife general competence as a witness and jurist.

Richardson refers to objections raised against this interpretation on the basis of Josephus, Philo, and rabbinic law, but dismisses these as secondary sources which must now be corrected in the light of the new documents. Without involving the hitherto little explored relationship between the legal traditions of Qumran and rabbinic *halakha*, I should

[1] D. Barthélemy, J. T. Milik, *et al.*, *Qumran Cave I, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, I (Oxford, 1955), p. 113.

like to set forth briefly the considerations which, I believe, make this interpretation entirely unacceptable:[2]

1) The context of the passage obviously deals with the stages in the initiation of a young man into the community. Thus, ll. 9–10 concern the age at which he becomes eligible for marriage, while l. 12 deals with the age for performing the "service of the congregation." A regulation concerning the wife's qualification to present indictments against her husband is here entirely out of place — especially when nothing is said of the husband's own legal status.

2) The logic of making the wife's eligibility for testimony and participation in judicial proceedings dependent on the age of her husband is completely obscure. Would an adolescent girl marrying a man of twenty become eligible "to take her place in proclaiming the ordinances"?

3) Both Barthélemy and Richardson identify the sectarians of our document with the "marrying Essenes." Josephus, Philo, and Pliny are unanimous in making celibacy a salient characteristic of the Essene communities. The "marrying Essenes" described by Josephus do not appear to have constituted more than a fraction of the order. The Essenes who eschewed marriage did so, according to Josephus (*J. W.* II.121), to protect themselves against "women's wantonness, being firmly convinced that none of the sex keeps her plighted troth to one man." It has been suggested that Josephus and Philo, who writes in a similar misogynic vein, are here injecting their own views, rather than those of the Essenes. However this may be, it is clear that the "marrying Essenes" based their position only on the need to insure the "propagation of the race." Are we to assume that this group would give to women the dominant function of participating in the judicial proceedings of the community and acting as witnesses against their husbands? Incidentally, the latter practice would be doubly impossible according to Pharisaic law, since even in cases where women are qualified,[3] a person cannot testify against his relative.

Richardson objects to the methodology of interpreting the Qumran documents in the light of later rabbinic sources. He maintains that there is no biblical injunction against women giving testimony in court. However, there are many practices and traditions commonly accepted in all periods, which do not appear in any codes of law. In the Mishna, too, the disqualification of women was not specifically codified but referred to indirectly as a matter of common knowledge (cf. Rosh ha-

[2] In addition to the following objections, the editor has pointed out a grammatical difficulty in the passage as it now stands. If משפטת התורה is the object of להעיד, we should normally expect it to be preceded by the *nota accusativi*.

[3] Women are eligible in cases where no more than one witness is required; cf. Mishna Soṭah 6.2.

Shanah 1.8). There is no evidence, so far as I know, of women acting as witnesses in criminal cases in any ancient Jewish source. Similarly, it has been inferred from the general practice of Athenian and Roman law that women were, with few exceptions, excluded from the witness box.[4] Josephus (*Antiq.* 4.8.15) attributes the incapacity of women as witnesses to the Law of Moses, thus indicating at least that this was the general Jewish practice in his time. The admonitions of Paul forbidding women to speak publicly in church, while not directly related, are indicative of the tenor of the times.[5] That the semi-monastic Essenes, of all groups, should have deviated from this pattern is highly unlikely.

It is evident, I believe, that the only regulation which fits into the context of our passage is one concerning the eligibility of the young sectarian rather than his wife. The need for a slight emendation of the text in this passage is difficult to escape and is justified by the fragmentary nature of our document.[6] Although other possibilities come to mind,[7] I would suggest the following reading as most probably reflecting the original sense of the passage:

And he shall be received to testify in accordance with the laws of the Torah and to take his place in hearing the judgments.	ובכן יקבל להעיד על פי משפטות התורא ולהתיצב במשמע משפטים

The meaning of the rule is that at the age of twenty a young man becomes eligible for testifying as a witness and for attending hearings in court.

For the first part of this regulation we have an exact parallel in the Damascus Document (9.23–10.2):

And let there not be accepted any witness by the judges, to put to death at his word, whose days have not been completed to pass among them that are mustered.	ואל יקובל [8]עוד לשופטים להמית על פיהו אשר לא מלאו ימיו לעבור על הפקודים

[4] See *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, p. 1011; cf. S. Mendelsohn, *The Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews*, p. 116.

[5] See I Cor 14 34–35 and I Tim 3 11–12.

[6] The text leaves sentences unfinished in at least two places: cf. ll. 12 and 27.

[7] The readings תֻּקְבַּל or תֻּקְבְּלוּהוּ are excluded by the absence of the second person anywhere in the document. The scribe apparently wrote תֻּקְבַּל for יְקֻבַּל under the influence of the preceding reference to the woman. עליו can be retained only if we interpret להעיד in the sense of warning or admonishing as in DC 19.30. The difficulty with this interpretation is that the period of instruction, according to 1QSa, begins much earlier, apparently at the age of ten, unless we are to distinguish various phases of instruction. I was gratified to find that T. H. Gaster (*The Dead Sea Scriptures*, p. 308) follows the interpretation suggested below, though he does not specify how he reads the text.

[8] Schechter read עיד; cf. the spelling עידים in DC 9.23.

We may note the use of the biblical phrase לעבוד על הפקודים as designating the age of twenty just as in our text (l. 9). This rule varies from rabbinic law where adolescence is the age which qualifies a normal person to be a witness.

The second part of our passage sets the age of twenty as also qualifying the man to participate במשמע משפטים. That this cannot mean "proclaiming the ordinances," i. e., serving in an active judicial capacity, is proved by the law which follows (l. 13; cf. DC 10.6–7), fixing thirty years as the minimum age for judges.[9] במשמע משפטים must, therefore, be understood as referring to attendance as an observer at judicial hearings. This practice has an interesting parallel in the Mishna Sanhedrin 4.4: ושלש שורות של תלמידי חכמים יושבין לפניהם, "And three rows of scholars would sit before them (the *sanhedrin*)."

These scholars were legal apprentices, ranked according to wisdom and scholarship, who would gain experience by following the proceedings of the high court and would also serve as a reservoir for filling vacancies on the bench. Incidentally, this Mishna makes it clear that the phrase ישבו לפניו / לפניהם which occurs several times in our text must be interpreted spatially, rather than temporally, as correctly stated by Richardson.

[9] In DC 10.6–7 the minimum age for the ten man judicial council is twenty-five.

A FORMAL ANALYSIS OF COLOSSIANS 1 15–20

JAMES M. ROBINSON

EMORY UNIVERSITY

WHEN A. Dieterich published his *Mithrasliturgie* in 1903, he called attention to the need for "a scholarly doctrine of the forms of religious liturgy." R. Harris' publication of the Odes of Solomon in 1909 provided a large body of material for comparison, which has subsequently been used in detecting hymnic material in the NT. But it was the classical philologian Eduard Norden who first carried through in his *Agnostos Theos* (1913) a comparison of Hellenic, Jewish, and Christian liturgical forms, a work which has become basic to all further research in the field. He focused attention upon Col 1 12–20 (pp. 250–54), by finding here traditional forms of predication, Jewish periods, and a Stoic "Allmachtsformel," all types he had previously worked out. Ernst Lohmeyer[1] saw in Col 1 13–20 "the order of a primitive Christian worship service," in 1 15–20 "the hymnic development of the 'word of God,'" of Pauline origin. But he forced the passage into a rigid 3–7–3–7 pattern of lines which the text will not support,[2] and attempted unconvincingly to relate the outline of creation-recreation to the Jewish association of New Year's Day with the Day of Atonement. Martin Dibelius[3] revised his original concept[4] of a "christological excursus" to that of a "christological confession" composed by Paul. But he made no progress beyond Norden in the formal analysis, concentrating instead upon the history of the concepts involved. Attention was focused upon the pre-literary history of the passage as a whole by Ernst Käsemann,[5] who saw in 1 12–20 a "primitive Christian baptismal liturgy," making use in 1 15–20

[1] In his Meyer commentary (8th ed.) of 1930, only slightly revised in the 9th ed. of 1954.

[2] Cf. e. g., the criticisms by Käsemann, p. 134 of the article cited in note 5 below.

[3] He lived to complete in 1946–47 the 3rd ed. of his *HNT* commentary to Col. 1; the volume was completed and published in 1953 by Heinrich Greeven.

[4] *HNT* (1st ed.; 1913).

[5] "Eine urchristliche Taufliturgie," *Festschrift Rudolf Bultmann zum 65. Geburtstag überreicht* (1949), pp. 133–48.

of a hymn which he conjectured to be of Gnostic origin. Subsequently four strophic arrangements of the passage have appeared, by Pierre Benoit, O. P., Charles Masson, G. Schille, and Christian Maurer,[6] and one may agree with Käsemann that "the hymnic character of Col 1 15–20 is long since recognized and generally accepted."[7]

However there is no consensus as to whether one has to do merely with traditional forms of expression used freely by the author of Colossians (so Norden), or whether one has to do with a liturgical unit composed prior to the composition of Colossians, comparable, e. g., to Phil 2 6–11 and 1 Tim 3 16 (so esp. Käsemann). The general non-committal attitude on this point is closely related to the fact that no thorough formal analysis of the passage has been undertaken since Norden; one has only the few remarks of Lohmeyer and Masson in support of their *a priori* and quite impossible strophic presentations. The purpose of the present paper is to examine such formal traits as become visible from an analysis of the passage, to see if the existence of a liturgical unit composed prior to the composition of Colossians can be detected.

The presentation of Norden is reproduced as a point of departure, including his spacing of corresponding words; for convenience of reference, lines have been numbered:

[6] Benoit, *La Sainte Bible traduite en français sous la direction de l'Ecole Biblique de Jerusalem* (1949). Masson, *Comm. du NT*, Vol. X (1950). Schille, "Liturgisches Gut im Epheserbrief," (Doctoral dissertation; Göttingen, 1952), p. 61. Maurer, "Die Begründung der Herrschaft Christi über die Mächte nach Kolosser 1, 15–20," *Wort und Dienst. Jahrbuch der Theologischen Schule Bethel*, n. F. IV (1955), 79–93, esp. 82 f. Unfortunately none of these strophic arrangements is accompanied by a formal analysis.

[7] P. 133. Cf. e. g.: J. Weiss, *Christus. Die Anfänge des Dogmas* (1909), pp. 45 f. A. Deissmann, *Paulus* (1911), p. 75. Gustav Harder, *Paulus und das Gebet* (1936), pp. 47–51. Jean Héring, *Le Royaume de Dieu et sa venue* (1937), p. 165. E. Stauffer, *NT Theology* (German ed., 1945; English ed., 1956), p. 246. Günther Bornkamm, "Das Bekenntnis im Hebräerbrief," *ThBl*, 1942, col. 63. Ernst Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe* (1946), pp. 36 ff. Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the NT*, I, 176, 178; II, 150, 156. Gerhard Delling, *Der Gottesdienst im NT* (1952), pp. 57, 87. Eduard Schweizer, *Erniedrigung und Erhöhung bei Jesus und seinen Nachfolgern* (1955), pp. 102 f., 110 f., 129 f. The term "hymn" in distinction from the more general expression "liturgical" cannot be pressed: cf. Nils A. Dahl, "Anamnesis," *ThSt*, I (1947), 82, n. 1; and Schweizer, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f., n. 221. Hans Conzelmann in his inaugural address at Zürich (*Schw. Th. Umschau*, XXV [1955], 61–74) distinguishes prose confessions (e. g., Col 1 13–14) from "songs" (e. g., Col 1 15–20), using the term "hymn" only in the sense established by the form criticism of the OT psalms.

12 . . . ευχαριστουντες τω πατρι
τω ικανωσαντι υμας εις την μεριδα του κληρου των αγιων
εν τω φωτι
13 ος ερρυσατο ημας εκ της εξουσιας του σκοτους
και μετεστησεν εις την βασιλειαν του υιου της
αγαπης αυτου
14 εν ω εχομεν την απολυτρωσιν, την αφεσιν των αμαρτιων

---

15 ος εστιν εικων του θεου του αορατου, πρωτοτοκος πασης
κτισεως A 1
16 οτι εν αυτω εκτισθη τα παντα εν τοις ουρανοις και
επι της γης A 2
τα ορατα και τα αορατα A 3
ειτε θρονοι ειτε κυριοτητες A 4
ειτε αρχαι ειτε εξουσιαι. A 5
τα παντα δι' αυτου και εις αυτον εκτισται A 6
17 και αυτος εστιν προ παντων A 7
και τα παντα εν αυτω συνεστηκεν A 8
18 και αυτος εστιν η κεφαλη του σωματος της εκκλησιας A 9

ος εστιν αρχη, πρωτοτοκος εκ των νεκρων B 1
ινα γενηται εν πασιν αυτος πρωτευων B 2
19 οτι εν αυτω ευδοκησεν παν το πληρωμα κατοικησαι B 3
20 και δι' αυτου αποκαταλλαξαι τα παντα εις αυτον B 4
ειρηνοποιησας δια του αιματος του σταυρου αυτου B 5
δι' αυτου ειτε τα επι της γης B 6
ειτε τα εν τοις ουρανοις B 7

---

12 . . . giving thanks to the Father,
The one qualifying us for a share in the inheritance of the saints in light,
13 Who delivered us from the authority of darkness,
And transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son,

14 In whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins:

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15 *Who is* the image of the invisible God, the *first-born* of all creation; A 1
16 *For in him were created all things in heaven and on earth,* A 2
Visible and invisible A 3
Whether thrones or dominions A 4
Or principalities or authorities; A 5
All things through him and *to him have been created,* A 6
17 *And he himself is* before all things, A 7
And *all things* in him have come together, A 8
18 *And he himself is* the head of the body the church; A 9

Who is the beginning, the *first-born* from the dead, B 1
That he might in all things himself be pre-eminent; B 2
19 *For in him* was pleased all the fulness to dwell, B 3
20 And *through him* to reconcile *all things to him* B 4
Making peace by the blood of his cross, B 5
Through him whether *those on earth* B 6
Or *those in heaven.* B 7

The divergences in the formal analyses by Lohmeyer, Benoit, Masson, Schille, and Maurer, as to the division into lines are as follows — A 1: Lohmeyer, Benoit, Masson, Schille, and Maurer, divide, although only Benoit is consistent in dividing B 1; Dibelius seems here to follow Norden, although he presents no full strophic analysis. A 2: Lohmeyer, Benoit, Masson, and Schille divide, though only Masson divides the corresponding B 3 (after *ευδοκησεν*). A 4 and 5: Benoit, Schille, and Maurer combine. A 7 and 8: Benoit and Maurer combine (as does apparently Dibelius). A 9: Masson omits; Käsemann and Schille omit *της εκκλησιας*. B 2: Benoit puts in parenthesis, without explanation; Maurer combines with B 1. B 4: Lohmeyer ends at *τα παντα*, beginning B 5 with *εις αυτον*; Masson separates *τα παντα εις αυτον* into an independent line. B 5: Masson divides after *ειρηνοποιησας*; Benoit transposes the line to the end of strophe B. B 6 and 7: Lohmeyer, Benoit, and Maurer combine. Since Benoit attaches B 6 directly to B 4, he can drop from B 6 the awkwardly repeated *δι' αυτου*. Both Masson and Schille group lines arbitrarily into pairs, without any visible parallelism. Benoit, gives up any attempt at symmetry in order to reflect accurately by indentions formal similarities largely upheld by the present analysis.

Norden's beginning with *ευχαριστουντες* has been largely ignored until revived by Käsemann,[8] who appeals to Bornkamm's identification[9] of this word as a technical term introducing a confession, and stresses the liturgical (participial) and non-Pauline character of vs. 12. Lohmeyer, appealing to the shift from second to first person at vs. 13, placed the beginning here, which also facilitated his symmetry of lines. Dibelius, Benoit, and Masson begin only at vs. 15, which is where Norden's correspondences begin; Käsemann's "pre-Christian hymn" begins at vs. 15, for here the language becomes more abstract, and the relation to baptism sensed in vss. 12–14 (and echoed in vss. 21 ff.) is absent. Clearly vss. 15–20 form a unit for analysis prior to and at the basis of any discussion of a broader liturgical context.

It is surprising that Norden's arrangement of vss. 15–20 in two strophes with such obviously corresponding beginnings has been slow to gain acceptance, having been actually first revived by Käsemann (followed by Schille). Lohmeyer's division at A 6 and A 9 is partly motivated by the rigor of his desire for symmetry, which is fully the cause of Masson's divisions at A 3, A 7, B 3, and B 5. The reason for overlooking Norden's arrangement in favor of such Procrustean beds is more apparent from Dibelius, who points to the neglected correspondence between A 7 and A 9, placing one at the end of the first strophe, the other at the begin-

[8] Schille, p. 61, assumes a lost "Aufgesang" prior to 1 12; Masson presupposes a lost "strophe liminaire" prior to 1 15.

[9] Cf. col. 61 of the essay cited in note 7.

ning of the second. Thus his second strophe displays the awkward procedure of beginning to give the correspondences to the first strophe in reverse order, and then immediately shifting to the parallel order. Benoit and Maurer have to an extent mastered this problem by setting A 7–9 apart as an independent two-line strophe, thus restoring Norden's basic insight into the parallel opening of strophes A and B.

The arbitrary analyses of Lohmeyer and Masson clearly indicate the need to return to Norden's careful observation of formal factors in preference to a mechanical application of a preconceived outline. Nor can such a hypothesis as Käsemann's identification of three stages of development seem other than arbitrary apart from exacting formal analysis distinct from his theological analysis. Käsemann maintains: "The assumption of older traditions will not suffice alone, where the hymnic formation of the completely rounded unit, balanced in its lines like strophes, is apparent. There remains therefore only the assumption of a pre-Christian hymn." To this one need simply compare Greeven's remark that strophe A has 11 or 12 lines (*sic*!), while strophe B has only 5 to 7. Clearly justice can be done to the passage only when equal account is taken of the liturgical features and striking correspondences between strophes, and of the equally obvious divergences of style and non-corresponding lines.

I

Some of the correspondence is even more striking than Norden detected. For it is not simply that the same terms recur, as Norden emphasizes, but also that they recur in the same order in the two strophes. This becomes apparent if one merely places the strophes side by side in such a way that corresponding lines are parallel:

A 1: ος εστιν εικων του θεου του αορατου,	B 1: ος εστιν αρχη,
πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως	πρωτοτοκος εκ των νεκρων
A 2: οτι εν αυτω εκτισθη	B 3: οτι εν αυτω ευδοκησεν
τα παντα εν τοις ουρανοις και επι της γης	παν το πληρωμα κατοικησαι
A 6: τα παντα δι' αυτου και εις αυτον εκτισται	B 4: και δι' αυτου αποκαταλλαξαι τα παντα εις αυτον

One then becomes immediately aware of correspondences not noted by Norden's mechanical observation of recurring words, which in some instances are seen to be less significant than Norden assumed. The two titles εικων and αρχη are correlative designations of the Logos, e. g., Philo *Conf.* 146: και γαρ αρχη και ονομα θεου και λογος και ο

κατ' εικονα ανθρωπος και ο ορων, Ισραηλ, "[And many names are his, for he is called] the Beginning, and the Name of God, and [His] Word, and the Man after [His] image, and 'he that sees,' Israel." W. Staerk[10] has shown that αρχη can be a soteriological title, in that the epiphany of the Logos designates the beginning and basis of the new aeon. The same correspondence recurs in the two expressions beginning with πρωτοτοκος, for here creation stands over against recreation at the resurrection from the dead.

In A 2 the real correspondence to τα παντα is not so much the same term in A 6 and 8 as παν το πληρωμα in B 3. This is made all the more apparent by Norden's sensitivity, missed by most others, to the formal trait that τα παντα εν τοις ουρανοις και επι της γης is one whole, while A 3–5, like B 6–7, are loosely appended appositions. However Norden's point of departure in the Stoic τα παντα formula visible in A 6 obscured for him (p. 241) the less philosophical and more religious categories in A 2 and B 3, where the concept of a cosmic body involved in εν αυτω (an idea foreign to the Stoic formula)[11] leads to two equivalent expressions for the *pleroma*.[12] These two lines even have the same order of terms, so as to be thoroughly balanced presentations. The only exception is the presence in B 3 of a finite verb accompanied by an infinitive at the end of the line. However this may be an alteration of the original line, which may be more accurately preserved in 2 9, where the material of 1 15–20 is applied to baptism:

[10] *Soter* (1933), p. 134; cf. Käsemann, p. 137.

[11] In Marc. Aurelius IV.23 the formula runs: εκ σου παντα, εν σοι παντα, εις σε παντα; Norden argues (pp. 242 f. and Anhang IV) that the original formula had as its middle preposition δια (so in Paul), in view of the common Stoic etymological derivation of the divine name Δια: Δια δε αυτον λεγουσιν, οτι παντων εστιν αιτιος και δι' αυτον παντα. However Dibelius (p. 13) traces the Stoic formula to the Platonic list of causes, cf. Seneca *Ep.* 65.8: Quinque ergo causae sunt, ut Plato dicit: id ex quo, id a quo, id in quo, id ad quod, id propter quod. Here the "in" formulation is explained: id in quo forma est. But i. Col 1 15–20 we have to do with the mythological context first set out by Deissmann, *Die Nt. Formel "in Christo Jesu"* (1892). Therefore Dibelius rightly comments: "Aber in anderem Sinn als bei M. Aurel." This would also be true of other occurrences: Evangelium Veritatis 18 45 ff.: "Perfect Father, who produced the All, in whom the All is, and whom the All needs"; Barn. 12 7: η δοξα του Ιησου, οτι εν αυτω παντα και εις αυτον; Corp. Herm. 5 10: παντα δε εν σοι, παντα απο σου; Asclepius 34: omnia enim ab eo et in ipso et per ipsum.

[12] One may compare Odes of Sol 7 11, 16; 19 5 (Gressmann):

Denn er ist unvergänglich,
die Fülle der Aeonen und ihr Vater.

. . .

dass es das All um dessen Erlösung willen durchdringe . . .

. . .

und gab die Mischung den Aeonen, ohne dass sie es merkten;
die sie nehmen, sind in dem Pleroma zur Rechten.

A 2: οτι εν αυτω εκτισθη τα παντα εν τοις ουρανοις και επι της γης
B 3: οτι εν αυτω ευδοκησεν παν το πληρωμα κατοικησαι
2 9: οτι εν αυτω κατοικει παν το πληρωμα της θεοτητος σωματικως

This would also avoid the rather awkward situation in B 4, where according to the present text all the pleroma, subject of the action in B 3 (cf. 2 9), seems to be the agent reconciling the all (itself?) to Christ, a problem which could have arisen when an original indicative verb in B 4 with God or Christ as subject (e. g. 1 22: αποκατηλλαξεν) was assimilated to the infinitive introduced into B 3. Such a conjecture of an original finite verb in B 4 is supported by the corresponding εκτισται in A 6, or the understood εστι of the Stoic formula.

Norden has shown (pp. 240 ff., 347 ff.) that the remarkable correspondence in A 6 and B 4 is due to the use of a Stoic Allmachtsformel found most purely in the NT in Rom 11 36a, but echoed also in 1 Cor 8 6; Eph 4 5 f.; Heb 2 10. The fact that this formula usually occurs without expressed verb explains the appended position of the verb (borrowed from A 2) in A 6, for usually in 1 15–20 one finds the more Semitic early position of the verb. In B 4, where the Stoic formula must in any case be removed from its primary association with nature's original status to that of reconciliation, the order of the whole line is assimilated to that of B 3.

The amazing degree of formal correspondence between the three pairs of lines under discussion puts in sharp relief the other problems in the passage. The first derives from the observation that corresponding lines have more in common with each other than with the lines of their own strophes. The forms of παν which occur in five of the six lines in question do not provide real cohesion. For the first pair is clearly dominated by the two pairs of christological titles, not by πασης κτισεως. And when one recognizes that the second pair of lines expresses the idea of Pantocrator in mythological rather than in Stoic terms, it becomes apparent that the second and third pairs do not originate together. Thus one can wonder whether the earliest form consisted in corresponding pairs, rather than in the unity of the strophe, i. e., a form analogous to Rev 1 8: εγω ειμι το αλφα και το ω . . . ο παντοκρατωρ; Rev 22 13: εγω το αλφα και το ω, ο πρωτος και ο εσχατος, η αρχη και το τελος. However the fact that in Col 1 15–20 the ideas in the paired lines correspond, more than standing in sharp antithesis, weakens the likelihood of such an original form of presentation; nor does the length and present form of the lines commend such a view.

On closer sight one can detect the conceptual unity associating the three lines of each strophe: it is the λογος, σοφια, ανθρωπος speculation of Hellenistic Judaism. Philo illustrates the interrelatedness of these concepts: *Conf.* 41: ανθρωπον θεου, ος του αιδιου λογος ων . . . εστιν αφθαρτος, "The man of God, who, being the Word of the Eternal, . . .

is imperishable"; *LA* I.65: *η δε [σοφια] εστιν ο θεου λογος*, "It [wisdom] is the Word of God." The concept of *εικων του θεου* (cf. *μορφη θεου* at the opening of the hymn in Phil 2 6–11), rooted in the Anthropos concept (in the OT: Gen 1 27 and esp. 5 1 LXX), is applied to the Logos already by Philo, e. g., *Spec.* I.81: *λογος δ' εστιν εικων θεου, δι' ου συμπας ο κοσμος εδημιουργειτο*, "And the image of God is the Word through whom the whole universe was framed"; *Opif.* 25; *Conf.* 146 (cited above), where the expression also occurs: *κατα τον πρωτογονον αυτου λογον . . . αρχαγγελον*, "According to God's First-born, the Word, . . . ruler of angels"; cf. also *Agr.* 51: *τον ορθον αυτου λογον και πρωτογονον υιον*, "His true Word and First-born Son." The expression *πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως* is used of the Logos independently by Theophilos (*Ad Autol.* II.22). Norden (p. 254), on the basis of this (cf. also Tatian 5.1) and Philo, indicates that the expression is pre-Christian; it is equivalent to Philo's *πρωτογονος*. The concept of the creation and recreation of the pleroma "in him" fits into this context of Anthropos speculation, cf. Hippolytus *Ref.* VIII.12: *Μονοιμος . . . λεγει ανθρωπον ειναι το παν*, "Monoïmus . . . says that Man is the All"; cf. also footnote 11. The closely related Jewish Sophia is mediator of creation (Sap 7 21, 8 6, 9 9; cf. Käsemann, p. 137), *αρχη* (Prov 8 22 LXX: *κυριος εκτισεν με αρχην οδων αυτου*, "The Lord made me the beginning of his ways"; Sir 24 9a: *προ του αιωνος απ' αρχης εκτισεν με*, "Before the world, from the beginning He created me"), and *εικων* (Sap 7 26c), with constant use in these contexts of *τα παντα* formulae (although not the specifically Stoic form, as Käsemann, p. 137, maintains). Thus we have to do with a series of concepts which had already found a crystallization point in Judaism, and could consequently be applied *en bloc* to Jesus.

The cohesion of this cluster of ideas in Christianity, prior to the composition of Colossians, can be illustrated by their recurrence in other liturgical kerygmatic texts. The last-cited passage is closely parallel to Heb 1 3 (cf. also *πρωτοτοκος* 1 6), thus accentuating the already generally recognized relatedness of the two Christian texts:

Sap 7 26–27a:	Heb 1 3:
απαυγασμα γαρ εστιν φωτος αιδιου	*ος ων απαυγασμα της δοξης*
και εσοπτρον ακηλιδωτον της του θεου ενεργειας	*και χαρακτηρ της υποστασεως αυτου,*
και εικων της αγαθοτητος αυτου	(cf. A 1)
μια δε ουσα παντα δυναται	*φερων τε τα παντα τω ρηματι της δυναμεως αυτου*
και μενουσα εν αυτη τα παντα καινιζει	(cf. *τα παντα* in Col 1 15–20)

For (wisdom) is a reflection of everlasting light	Who being a reflection of the glory
And an unspotted mirror of the working of God	And the stamp of his nature
And an image of his goodness.	(cf. A 1)
And she, though but one, hath power to do all things	Upholding all things by the word of his power
And remaining in herself, reneweth all things.	(cf. "all things" in Col 1 15–20)

Just as in the case of Col 1 15–20, Heb 1 3 moves from the *imago dei* and *τα παντα* concepts of the pre-existent to the victory over the spirit-world at the exaltation, although this termination of the liturgical unit is in Hebrews 1 dissolved into a series of proof texts. The liturgical unit employed in the Prologue of John also makes use of the same group of Logos concepts as in Col 1 15–20, having e. g., the same kind of Allmachtsformel with regard to the agent of creation. This similarity of John 1 3 to strophe A is accentuated when one compares the fuller expression in the Hermetic *Asclepius*:

Asclepius 34:	John 1 3b, 3a:
sine hoc (sc. deo) nec fuit aliquid nec est nec erit.	*και χωρις αυτου εγενετο ουδε εν*
omnia enim ab eo et in ipso et per ipsum.	*παντα δι αυτου εγενετο* (cf. A 6)
Without (God) neither was anything,	And without him was not anything made,
nor is, nor will be.	
For all is from him, and in him, and through him.	All things were made through him (cf. A 6).

This fuller form of the Allmachtsformel also occurs in the confession I Cor 8 6. The hymn of Phil 2 6–11 opens with the same motif of *εικων του θεου*, for although the term *μορφη* is used, the identity of concept is apparent e. g. by comparison with Herm. I.12:

Herm I.12:	Phil 2 6b, 6a:
ο δε παντων πατηρ ο Νους, ων ζωη και φως, απεκυησεν Ανθρωπον αυτω ισον, ου ηρασθη ως ιδιου τοκου· περικαλλης γαρ, την του πατρος εικονα εχων· οντως γαρ και ο θεος ηρασθη της ιδιας μορφης, παρεδωκε τα εαυτου παντα δημιουργηματα	*ουχ αρπαγμον ηγησατο το ειναι ισα θεω* (cf. A 1b) (cf. A 1a) *ος εν μορφη θεου υπαρχων* (cf. *τα παντα* in Col 1 15–20)

But Mind, the Father of all, being life and light, bore a Man like himself, with whom he fell in love as his own child. For he was very beautiful, bearing the image of his Father. For truly God fell in love with his own form, and he turned over to him all his works.	He did not consider it booty to be like God (cf. A 1b) (cf. A 1a) Who being in the form of God (cf. "all things" in Col 1 15–20)

Here one can see the close affinity of Phil 2 6 with the concepts εικων, πρωτοτοκος, and agent of the creation of τα παντα, the concepts recurring in Col 1 15–20. One may therefore conclude that the three lines of strophe A with correspondence in strophe B are bound together by a cluster of ideas already associated in Hellenistic Judaism and Gnosticism, and commonly recurring, of the pre-existent Christ in other liturgical kerygmatic texts: Phil 2 6; Heb 1 3; John 1 3; I Cor 8 6. It is therefore quite possible that the association of the three pairs of corresponding lines is inherent in the liturgical material employed by Colossians, and is not first due to the literary composition.

II

The more clearly one grasps the detailed coordination in the three pairs of lines just discussed, the more one becomes aware of the disorder in the rest of the passage. For A 7–9 there is no equivalent at the end of strophe B, although A 7 and A 9 correspond so clearly as to lead Dibelius to begin strophe B with A 9, and Benoit and Maurer more wisely to separate A 7–9 into an independent strophe. This move had been retarded perhaps by Norden's inclusion of A 7–9 in the Stoic Allmachtsformel. Yet when one examines the instances Norden lists (cf. also Dibelius, pp. 13 f.), it becomes apparent that this formula is characterized by τα παντα in the nominative position, with the deity in the oblique cases following prepositions.[13] This does not occur in A 7–9, with the exception of εν αυτω, which as has been seen (footnote 11 above), is not used in the Stoic sense, if it belongs in the formula at all. Thus the occurrence of παντα in A 7 and A 8 does not necessarily attach them to A 6, but merely gives to these lines the characteristic of the whole of 1 15–20, where Christ as Pantocrator is praised partly in Stoic terms, partly in mythological and Jewish terms. A 9, η κεφαλη του σωματος, also clearly fits the latter rather than the Stoic type, especially when one notes its equivalent in non-Stoic terms of παν in 2 10: ος εστιν η κεφαλη πασης αρχης και εξουσιας; and 2 19: την κεφαλην, εξ ου παν το σωμα . . . .

[13] Eph 4 8 f. has the reverse style, but cannot establish Stoic usage.

The recognition by Dibelius, Benoit, and Maurer, that A 7 and A 9 form a pair led them to eliminate the intervening A 8 by appending it to A 7. This not only does violence to the fact recognized by all others that A 8 is in form an independent line like A 7 and A 9, but also hides the crucial problem that for it there is no corresponding line. When one faces this problem, attention is immediately drawn to B 2, which Benoit without explanation puts in parenthesis, and Dibelius regards as a Pauline, anti-heresy addition. But when one compares A 8 and B 2, their correspondence at several points is obvious: upon a (different) conjunction follows a form of *παντα*, a form of *αυτος*, then a final verb form. The case variations suggest a reciprocity familiar from the Pauline "you in Christ and Christ in you": *παντα εν αυτω* and *εν πασιν αυτος*. The periphrastic verb form in B 2 accounts for the insertion of the finite verb early, as is more typical of Semitic style and of the rest of 1 15–20. Otherwise A 8 and B 2 correspond well, just as do A 7 and A 9. Thus it is quite possible that we have in A 7–9, B 2, two pairs of corresponding lines, which, like the correspondences discussed above, fall into the pattern of creation and recreation:

A 7 *και αυτος εστιν προ παντων*	A 9 *και αυτος εστιν η κεφαλη του σωματος (της εκκλησιας)*
A 8 *και τα παντα εν αυτω συνεστηκεν*	B 2 *ινα γενηται εν πασιν αυτος πρωτευων*

Thus Masson's elimination of A 9 as not fitting the creation strophe becomes unnecessary.

Lohmeyer (p. 61, n. 2) regarded *της εκκλησιας* as a Pauline addition to a phrase borrowed from the Colossian heresy. Max-Adolf Wagenführer[14] regarded it as a later interpolation into Colossians. Käsemann (p. 134) regarded it as added to the pre-Christian hymn on its incorporation into a Christian liturgy, and bases his argument for such a stage in the history of the hymn partly upon this point. However a better case could be made for a Pauline origin of such an addition, in view of the quite analogous addition of *θανατου δε σταυρου* in Phil 2 8, and the Pauline tendency evident in Col 1 24: *υπερ του σωματος αυτου, ο εστιν η εκκλησια*. Furthermore it seems inaccurate on Käsemann's part to classify the original line on the side of creation rather than eschatology. For the appeal to 2 10 which Käsemann makes to establish the cosmic rather than ecclesiological meaning of the original line shows that it is understood of redemption (cf. also 2 19), not of creation. For here B 3 is recalled (2 9), with a soteriological comment (2 10a), then A 9 is recalled (2 10b), followed immediately by a soteriological exegesis:

[14] *Die Bedeutung Christi für Welt und Kirche* (1941), pp. 66 ff.

being in the body whose head is Christ means dying and rising "in him." It is arbitrary on Käsemann's part to recognize (p. 139) the soteriological use of B 3 in 2 9, and to ignore the soteriological implication thus placed upon A 9 when recalled in 2 10b.[15]

III

A final problem has to do with the lists of spirit-world forces in A 3–5, B 6–7. The liturgical "forms of predication" which Norden identified in the passage (participial and relative sentences; "he"-predication) do not occur in these lines. Nor do the lists quite correspond, or fall in corresponding places in the two strophes. Norden himself in another context (p. 261) pointed to a further basic formal distinction between these lines and the rest of the passage: The passage displays in general the monumental structure of Semitic formulation, upon which is "imposed" (angebracht) at these two places "ein schnörkelhafter Putz," a parallelism in miniature which is foreign to the monumental Semitic parallelism but common to Greek style. Now Norden observes that such a mixing of the two styles is typical for Paul, which he illustrates from I Corinthians 7: vss. 12–14a, 16 are un-Greek; vs. 27 is Greek rhetoric; vs. 18 is Greek style, vs. 19 Semitic.

Ernst Percy[16] argues for the Pauline authorship of Col 1 15–20 on the basis of the style of A 2–6: the connection of two similar παντα statements with ειτε . . . ειτε constructions listing illustrations, cf. I Cor 3 21; Gal 3 26–28; I Cor 12 13. However the similarity of content as well as form suggests that we have to do not simply with a purely linguistic characteristic of Paul, but rather with a theological idea rooted in the kerygma, as Percy himself says, ". . . a basic motif of his whole religious point of view, namely Christ's relation to the whole rest of existence, which completely eliminates all this-worldly distinctions." If it is this kerygmatic idea which calls forth the style, then this trait can hardly be used to argue that the passage under consideration is Pauline rather than a pre-Pauline kerygmatic unit. On the other hand one may note that in each of the instances of this style the illustrations listed in the ειτε . . . ειτε construction differ widely, so that their insertion may be regarded as a Pauline explication of what is latent in the παντα expressions. One

[15] These echoes of 1 15–20 in 2 9–10 seem to be a much more obvious explanation of the liturgical aspects of the latter passage than Schille's attempt, pp. 15 ff., to detect in 2 9–15 a hymn with interlinear commentary. It is significant that his theologically determined choice of which lines belong to the hymn corresponds at only one point (vs. 10b) with Norden's presentation (p. 385) of formal traits (participial and relative style) in 2 10–12.

[16] *Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe*, p. 65.

may note by way of confirmation that strophe B has the corresponding pair of παντα expressions (B 3 and B 4), without the intervening ειτε . . . ειτε explication.

There seems no reason to question (as does Käsemann) the general assumption (e. g. Dibelius) that the choice of illustrations in the present case is derived from the Colossian heresy (cf. 2 18). When one examines the terms listed in A 3–5, they are neither specifically Pauline nor specifically Christian. A 3 occurs neither in the LXX nor in the NT;[17] and this designation of the spirit-world forces as τα ορατα και τα αορατα stands in some tension to A 1, where God is the αορατος and Christ the visible (as εικων), confirming the view that A 3 does not belong originally in the composition. In A 4 θρονοι is not in the NT, but is Jewish; κυριοτητες is not Pauline, with its nearest parallel in I Cor 8 5, where Paul alludes to the pagan κυριοι; cf. also Eph 1 21, probably dependent upon the usage in Colossians. A 5 has its nearest Pauline parallel in I Cor 15 24: οταν καταργηση πασαν αρχην και πασαν εξουσιαν και δυναμιν. In Rom 8 38 the somewhat similar ουτε αγγελοι και αρχαι is placed in the middle of a list similar to Percy's parallel passage I Cor 3 21. But the most striking parallels to A 5 occur in Col 2 10 (ος εστιν η κεφαλη πασης αρχης και εξουσιας) and Col 2 15 (απεκδυσαμενος τας αρχας και τας εξουσιας), so that one must see here an expression particularly relevant to the heresy. Just as Paul in 2 10 put this expression in the place of του σωματος (A 9), he inserts it in strophe A to apply the παντα formulae to the heresy. The derivation of A 3–5 from the heresy may be more apparent when one recalls that the ειτε . . . ειτε (seu . . . seu) style is characteristic of non-Christian invocations, e. g. Apuleius XI.2 of Isis: regina caeli, sive tu Ceres . . . seu tu caelestis Venus . . . seu Phoebi soror . . . seu Proserpina (cf. Norden, pp. 143 ff.).

One might surmise that A 2b is also derived from the heresy. However the expression τα παντα εν τοις ουρανοις και επι της γης seems to be a unit standing coordinate to παν το πληρωμα. A 2b is not Pauline usage; its nearest parallel is in the confessional formulation most like Col 1 15–20 in the Pauline corpus, I Cor 8 6, which is introduced: ειπερ εισιν λεγομενοι θεοι ειτε εν ουρανω ειτε επι γης.

If A 2b seems to belong originally to the pre-Pauline unit, the same cannot be said for its repetition in B 6–7. Here one has, so to speak, a conflation of the content of A 2b and the style of A 3–5: the terms from A 2b (in the reverse, less normal order); the τα . . . τα appositional form of A 3, and the ειτε . . . ειτε form of A 4–5. Thus the content which in A 2b is an integral part of the παντα concept has in B 6–7 taken over the appositional, appendix style of A 3–5. B 6–7 are clearly intended as an appendix to τα παντα in B 4 (which is faintly suggested by the

[17] Norden, p. 254, notes that it is of Platonic origin: *Phaed.* 79.A; *Tim.* 51.A.

repetition from B 4 of δι' αυτου), for the equivalent expressions in strophe A belong with τα παντα in A 2. One may compare Phil 2 10, where, according to the rather successful strophic arrangement by Joachim Jeremias,[18] the equivalent επιουρανιων και επιγειων και καταχθονιων are perhaps a Pauline addition explicating παν γονυ, but, as in strophe B, separated from the term it modifies by the completion of the hymnic line καμψη. However in strophe B the explication is not only separated from τα παντα by the conclusion of B 4 εις αυτον, but also by the intervening B 5 (which Benoit transposes to the end of strophe B). Käsemann has already conjectured that all but the first (non-Pauline) word of B 5 is a Pauline addition, in which the pre-Christian hymn was given specific reference to the cross (cf. Phil 2 8 for a similar Pauline addition). Wagenführer (p. 67) had noted that the context is that of the exaltation, no longer that of the death (B 1). As a matter of fact the whole of B 5 has no correspondence in strophe A, nor is its form like that encountered elsewhere in Col 1 15–20. It does not even conform to the participial style of 1 12, for the absence of an article distinguishes it sharply (cf. Norden, p. 203) from this Jewish form of predication. It has however close formal parallels in 2 13c, 14a, c, 15a, c, precisely at the point where Paul is applying strophe B to the cross. Even the order in B 5–7, where the cross precedes the listing of the spirit-world forces, has its parallel in 2 14 f., where the allusion to the cross is followed by that to the spirits. A similar commentary is added to αποκαταλλασσειν in 1 22: εν τω σωματι της σαρκος αυτου δια του θανατου. Thus the conclusion seems most likely that we have in B 5–7 Pauline additions, pointing the passage he is citing both to the cross and to the spirits worshiped at Colossae, thus anticipating in both respects the use he is to make of the passage in 2 9–15.

IV

The conclusion of such formal analysis is to detect on the basis of liturgical style and coordinating lines the presence in Col 1 15–20 of two units (A 1, 2, 6, B 1, 3, 4; and A 7, 8, 9, B 2) which have been partly conflated, and supplemented by lists of the στοιχεια του κοσμου worshiped at Colossae, a specific allusion to the cross (B 5), and to the

[18] "Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen," *Studia Paulina*, pp. 152–54. He is followed by Otto Michel, "Zur Exegese von Phil 2 5–11," *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis*, pp. 79–95. Independently L. Cerfaux, "L'hymne au Christ-Serviteur de Dieu," *Miscellanea Historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer*, pp. 117–30, adopts the same strophic arrangement, although including the interpolations and thereby losing the symmetry of Jeremias' presentation. Bultmann, "Bekenntnis- und Liedfragmente im ersten Petrusbrief," *Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, XI (1947), 1–14, esp. 6, n. 10, had already attained the basic insight that the hymn is composed in *parallelismus membrorum*.

church (A 9b), as well as minor stylistic alterations necessitated by such reworking (*δι' αυτου* in B 6a; omission of a *και* at the opening of A 6, cf. B 4), and expected in the free citation customary in that day (perhaps the infinitives in B 3 and 4; and instances which one cannot detect).

One may inquire whether the two units originally belonged together, as the prominence of *παντα* formulations in both and the smooth attachment of A 7 to A 6 would suggest, or whether they were originally separate. In the former, more likely case, one must either, with Benoit and Maurer, accept the unevenness of an intervening section between the parallel strophes (A 7, 8, 9, B 2), or, perhaps better, resort to some such conjecture as the placing of A 9 and B 2 at the end of strophe B, the position in strophe B (to which their contents belong) suggested by the position of their corresponding lines A 7–8 at the end of strophe A. For one may also observe that the finality of the *ινα* clause B 2 would suit best the end, as in the analogous hymn Phil 2 6–11: *ινα εν τω ονοματι Ιησου παν γονυ καμψη . . . .*[19] The recognition of the fact that one has in 2 9–15 a baptismal application of strophe B may support this conjecture, for in this echo of strophe B, A 9 (2 10) comes after B 3 (2 9). Furthermore the narrow concentration on the cross in 2 11–14 gives way at the end to a wider cosmic significance of the cross, perhaps intending to root in the cross Jesus' role as head of the body (when the echo of A 9 in 2 10 is so rooted in 2 15a), and his role as pre-eminent (compare B 2 and 2 15b). It would then be this Pauline concern to root Jesus' cosmic role in the cross which led to the radical alterations already noted at the end of strophe B. The very fact of these alterations, established on other grounds, would suggest that it is here, at the end of strophe B, that lines had been removed to give way to Pauline improvisation, just as the presence in A 9 of an interpolation would suggest that this line was fitted with difficulty into a new context. The present location of A 9 and B 2 after A 7–8 could be due to the natural desire to quote in sequence corresponding lines; and their position on each side of B 1 could be due to a desire to bring together similar christological titles: Before B 1, beginning with *αρχη*, is placed A 9, with the similar title *κεφαλη* (in 2 10b, A 9 takes on the *ος εστιν* form of B 1); after B 1, climaxing in *πρωτοτοκος*, is placed B 2, with the similar title *πρωτευων*.

When one surveys the liturgical material which has been disengaged from Col 1 15–20, one notes that it all consists of pairs of lines quite reminiscent of *parallelismus membrorum*. The only exception is Norden's arrangement of A 1 and B 1 as one line each. However each line clearly

[19] N. A. Dahl, "Formgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur Christusverkündigung in der Gemeindepredigt," *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann* (1954), pp. 6 f., demonstrates that this "teleological pattern" in *ινα* is a very frequent kerygmatic motif, although he fails to note it in Col 1.

divides in the middle, and presents a pair of christological titles. Therefore all subsequent strophic arrangements (Lohmeyer, Benoit, Masson, Schille, Maurer, and by implication Greeven) agree against Norden in dividing A 1; in this case, the corresponding line B 1 should be divided.

Although at several points the reconstruction of the original wordage, form, or position of parts of the liturgical material is uncertain, at least a tentative reconstruction of the "hymn" could be as follows:

Strophe A	*Strophe B*
ος εστιν εικων του θεου του αορατου πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως	ος εστιν αρχη πρωτοτοκος εκ των νεκρων
οτι εν αυτω εκτισθη τα παντα εν τοις ουρανοις και επι της γης	οτι εν αυτω [κατοικει] παν το πληρωμα [της θεοτητος (σωματικως)]
[και] τα παντα δι' αυτου και εις αυτον (εκτισται)	και δι' αυτου [αποκατηλλαξε] τα παντα εις αυτον
και αυτος εστιν προ παντων	και αυτος εστιν η κεφαλη του σωματος
και τα παντα εν αυτω συνεστηκεν	ινα γενηται εν πασιν αυτος πρωτευων.

Who is the image of the invisible God, The first-born of all creation;	Who is the beginning, The first-born from the dead;
For in him were created all things in heaven and on earth, [And] all things [are] through him, and to him (have been created).	For in him [dwells] all the fulness [of deity (bodily)], And through him [he reconciled] all things to him.
And he himself is before all things,	And he himself is the head of the body,
And all things in him have come together.	That he might in all things himself be pre-eminent.

The most obvious criticism of this strophic arrangement is the same as Käsemann's criticism of Lohmeyer's arrangement: "A model of hymnic formation, without parallel in the NT." Perhaps the most relevant reply to such a remark is not the pedantic observation that Phil 2 6–11, especially in view of the recent converging analyses of Jeremias and Cerfaux (cf. note 18), and I Tim 3 16, especially since

Eduard Schweizer[20] has worked out the parallelism missed by Norden (p. 256), do present equally striking instances of detailed parallelism and correspondence in liturgical composition. Yet it is more important to note that there is an internal criterion in Col 1 15–20. The three pairs of corresponding lines discussed in section II above are quite visible without resort to conjectural reconstruction, are so carefully constructed in detail as to betray the hand of an exacting composer, and thus provide the critical norm for the subsequent discussion. The disorder in the whole passage, in shifting corresponding lines away from their parallel position by the injection of intervening lines, in placing two corresponding lines (A 7 and 9) in the same strophe, and in including material of different style and without correspondence, can hardly be attributed to the careful hand to which the original composition of corresponding lines is to be attributed. This factor, rather than the still ambiguous discussion of Pauline grammar and vocabulary,[21] is the compelling ground for assuming the incorporation of a pre-Pauline liturgical unit in Colossians 1 at this point. It is also the careful composition of the corresponding lines discussed in section II which provides the justification for the inquiry in section III as to whether the original composition was limited to the three corresponding pairs most readily visible, or whether the other liturgically styled material of similar content also fell originally into such a careful pattern. Thus although the specific reconstruction here proposed must remain conjectural, with only such likelihood as the reasons given at each step provide, the basic validity of such an inquiry seems on internal grounds apparent.

[20] *Op. cit.*, pp. 63–66; cf. also *TWNT*, V, 414.

[21] On grammar, cf. Percy's reply, p. 65, n. 84, to the non-Pauline argument of G. Harder, *Paulus und das Gebet* (1936), pp. 47 ff. As to vocabulary, some Pauline terms occur (εικων του θεου; πρωτοτοκος; κτιζειν; εν αυτω; the Stoic Allmachtsformel), while other terms do not occur in Paul apart from Col and Eph dependent upon the present passage. The Pauline terms occurring are not specifically Pauline, nor do the specifically Pauline terms occur. The whole problem is complicated by the general tendency of German scholarship to regard Col as non-Pauline. A stronger argument for the view that the passage antedates Col resides in the long-recognized fact (cf. e. g., Norden, p. 252), that the passage moves far afield from its point of departure in the intercession for the church at Colossae, while 1 21 ff. connects back to the transformation stated in 1 12–14.

DATING THE LANGUAGE OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON[1]

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THE last Scroll to be published of those found in Qumran Cave I is an Aramaic Scroll named by its editors, Drs. Yadin and Avigad, "A Genesis Apocryphon," containing legends of the Patriarchs.

It would be difficult indeed to overestimate the value of this Aramaic Scroll in its bearing on the research in the field of Aramaic. The Scroll may prove a factor in solving a number of problems that have vexed scholars for generations. But immediately the most important question arises. Is it possible to date this Scroll on the basis of the language and how can we achieve this aim? I believe that the Scroll can be dated in this manner, and that it comes from about the first century C. E., possibly even the first century B. C. E.

This determination has been reached by comparing the language of the Scroll with that of dated or datable materials in the different Aramaic dialects. For example, very important Aramaic documents were found during this century in Egypt. They come mainly from the island of Elephantine in Southern Egypt and originated in large part in a settlement of Jewish soldiers. Many of these documents are clearly dated in the 5th century B. C. E., and may all safely be assigned to that period.

Unfortunately, the situation with respect to Biblical Aramaic is more difficult. There are two principal problems: the time of origin, and the place of origin. Concerning the time, there is no agreement yet, on the basis of the language. The lowest date assumed for the language seems to be the 3rd or 2nd century B. C. E. Secondly, there are doubts concerning its place of origin. Does it reflect Eastern Aramaic, spoken in Iraq of today, or Western Aramaic, spoken in Palestine and Syria of today? There is still a third possibility: Biblical Aramaic is very much like the language of the Aramaic papyri found in Egypt and other Aramaic inscriptions discovered all over the territory that was ruled by the Persian Empire from the 6th to the 4th century B. C. E. The language of all these sources is called "Reichsaramäisch" or "Aramaic of the Empire," and we may assume that at least as a written language this

[1] An address given at a Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls held at The Dropsie College, Philadelphia, May 20, 1957. The other participants were Prof. W. F. Albright, Monsignor P. W. Skehan, and Prof. S. Zeitlin.

Aramaic was uniform throughout the Persian empire. There is no clear-cut answer yet to these problems.

Later dialects which are a kind of offshoot of Reichsaramäisch are Nabatean and Palmyrene. The Nabatean inscriptions, most of which are dated, come mainly from the 1st century B. C. E. to the beginning of the 2nd century C. E. The other dialect was used by the inhabitants of the famous city of Palmyra (Tadmor in Semitic), a caravan city in the Syrian desert. Very many of these inscriptions also are dated. They start in the second half of the 1st century B. C. E. and the last was set up in 272 C. E. before the victorious Roman armies destroyed the city. Other materials that belong roughly to the same period include a few Aramaic inscriptions found in Jerusalem. Josephus and the NT, with a handful of Aramaic words, are another, very meager, source for the Aramaic of this period.

Middle Aramaic, which comprises two branches, Eastern and Western, is of much later origin. Both of these are further subdivided into dialects, most of which stem from about the middle of the first millennium C. E.

Where does the language of the Scroll fit into the chronological pattern of Aramaic dialects? It can be stated with confidence that the language of the Scroll is of a later type than Biblical Aramaic, but earlier than Middle Aramaic, so the date must be somewhere between the 3rd century B. C. E. and the 5th century C. E. With the help of the Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions, ranging from the 1st century B. C. E. to 272 C. E., and those of Jerusalem that were written prior to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C. E., we can narrow the gap to the 1st century B. C. E. or, with more likelihood, the first century C. E., i. e., the century which saw the destruction of the Temple and the beginning of Christianity.

A few examples may suffice to illustrate this line of reasoning. In Biblical Aramaic, the masculine form of the demonstrative pronoun is דנא. In Middle Aramaic the predominant form is דן. The Scroll uses both. The word for "the wife" is always אנתתא in the Scroll, which is the form used in Egyptian Aramaic. It does not occur in Biblical Aramaic. In later Western Aramaic, however, the normal form is אנתתא, אתתא occurring only as an exception. The same is true of other words like ינדע 'he will know,' למנתן 'to give,' which contain a נ that is generally dropped in the later dialects.

In Biblical Aramaic "they will write" is יכתבון. The shorter form יכתבו is used only in commands, e. g., אל יכתבו. This form no longer occurs in later Western dialects, not even in Nabatean, but does occur in the Scroll. The past passive of the first conjugation is very widespread in the Elephantine papyri and Biblical Aramaic, but is practically non-existent in (later) Western Aramaic. This passive is conspicuous in our Scroll.[3]

[3] These are only a few of many examples that could be adduced in support of the

At this point, I must take issue with my highly esteemed colleague, Prof. S. Zeitlin. In the *Jewish Quarterly Review* of January, 1957, he devotes a few pages to the dating of the Scroll. On p. 249, he says: "We may say from internal evidence that the Scroll was not written during the Second Commonwealth; and that it was composed during a much later period. It was written in Aramaic, but it includes many Hebrew words and expressions." He then offers in evidence 16 words, of which he seems to consider seriously 8–10. He is in error concerning most of these words. Only *two* are entirely or nearly entirely foreign to Aramaic dialects: סנר meaning "to give into one's power" and זר meaning "stranger." With regard to the others, consider, e. g., הוא כהן. The word כָּהֲנָא 'priest' occurs in Biblical Aramaic (Ezra 6, 9, etc.), in the Elephantine papyri, in Syriac, and in other Aramaic dialects. Hebrew כֹּהֵן is related to it; Hebrew and Aramaic are Semitic languages and have a common stock of vocabulary (incidentally, the word is also found in Arabic). But it never occurred to any scholar to maintain that Hebrew took it from Aramaic or Arabic or vice versa. Both Hebrew and Aramaic inherited it from the common Proto-Semitic. Or take the following example. Zeitlin says: "We have in Column XX the Hebrew word דדי 'my uncle.' Again he is mistaken. The Hebrew word is דּוֹד, but the Aramaic is דַּד. It occurs in Syriac, also in Palmyrene (see Cantineau, *Grammaire du palmyrénien épigraphique*, p. 100) and has now turned up in a Nabatean document found near the Dead Sea (*Revue biblique*, 1954, pp. 163 ff., Fragment A, ll. 7, 8, etc.).

At another point Zeitlin says: "However, the Targum Onkelos has אמרפל מלכא דבבל, Amraphel, King of Babylon, and so is the reading in the Scroll אמרפל מלך בבל. (*Note the Hebrew construction* מ ל ך ב ב ל)." (My italics, E.Y.K.) This is a very strange statement, to say the least. After all, Biblical Aramaic and other Aramaic dialects use both the construct chain and the genitive construction with ד (די). As a matter of fact, the same combination מלך בבל occurs in Dan 7 1. There is nothing uniquely Hebrew about the construct state, which is common to all the older Semitic languages.

Let us suppose, for the sake of the argument, that Zeitlin is right, and that these words are Hebrew. He says, "This alone militates against the theory that this Scroll was written during the Second Jewish Commonwealth. In that period the Aramaic was written without an intermixture of Hebrew. In the part of the Book of Daniel written entirely in Aramaic, Hebrew words are not found." Zeitlin does not give any references for this statement, and I was unable to find any Aramaic scholar who holds this view. The contrary, however, is on record: e. g., in the book by

dating proposed. The interested reader is referred to my forthcoming article on the subject, to be published in the Scripta of the Hebrew University.

Prof. F. R. Blake, *A Resurvey of Hebrew Tenses* (with an Appendix: "Hebrew Influence on Biblical Aramaic"), 16 pages (81–96) are devoted to the matter of Hebrew influence on Biblical Aramaic. While not all the material Blake has gathered is relevant to our problem, there are at least 15–20 instances of Hebrew words and forms in Biblical Aramaic.[3]

To sum up, Zeitlin is mistaken on two counts: 1) Most of the words which he assumes to be Hebrew are *Aramaic* (or at least to be found in early Aramaic texts). 2) Even if all the words were actually Hebrew, that in itself would not prove anything concerning the period of the Scroll since, contrary to his statement, Hebrew words *are* found in Biblical Aramaic (incidentally, at least three or four of those he mentions also occur in Biblical Aramaic).

Even less defensible is Zeitlin's contention on p. 252: "We even may say that one passage in the Scroll reveals the date of its composition . . .. I believe that the phrase לִמדינת דרמשק reveals the time when the Scroll was written. Damascus was a capital in the years 661–750 C. E. under the Omayyad Caliphs. If we were to assume that מדינת דרמשק is to be rendered 'the city of Damascus' it is apparent that the Scroll was written in the Arabic period. The word מדינה meaning 'city' *is Arabic.*" Again Zeitlin does not give any source for the statement that מדינה meaning "city" is Arabic, and I have been unable to find any Aramaic or Arabic scholar who holds this view. The contrary is again on record. Every dictionary of the Talmud, Midrash, and Targum (viz. Levy, Kohut, and Jastrow) lists the meaning, "city" for מדינתא, מדינה, and *inter alia* in the name of Rabbi Levi[4] who flourished during the 3rd century, 400 years before the Arab conquest; e. g., Bereshit Rabba 50 12 (p. 530 in the Theodor-Albeck edition): אמר רבי לוי למדינה שהיה לה שני פטרונין אחד בן מדינה ואחד עידני, "Rabbi Levi said: 'This may be compared to a great city which had two patrons one from a large town and the other from a small town.' "[5] See also Midrash Esther Rabba to 1 1 (at the end): אמר רבי לוי כל מקום שנאמר שדה הוא עיר עיר מדינה מדינה אפרכיה, "Rabbi Levi said: 'Wherever you find the word "field" . . . in Scripture it implies city; wherever you find "city" it implies a metropolis; wherever you find "metropolis" it implies a province.' "[6] Besides, there are at least eight Aramaic dialects in which מדינה occurs with the meaning of "city," some of them *only* with this meaning (and not with the meaning of "*prov-*

[3] Information about the influence of Canaanite and Hebrew on Biblical Aramaic can be found, e. g., in Bauer-Leander, *Hist. Gram. des B. A.*, p. 10, or in the Introduction to the Aramaic part of Köhler-Baumgartner's *Lexicon*, pp. xlvi–xlvii.

[4] Cf. W. Bacher, *Agada der Palästinensischen Amoräer*, II, 296 ff.; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, 21 ff.

[5] See *Midrash Rabba, Genesis*, trans. H. Friedman and M. Simon (London, 1939), I, 442 (cf. note 7).

[6] See *Midrash Rabba Esther*, trans. M. Simon (London, 1939), p. 25.

ince").[7] Now, most of these Aramaic dialects date back to the period before the Arab invasion and therefore Arabic influence is ruled out. This is true in the case of the Syriac translation of the Bible, the Peshitta, which has been handed down in a redaction made during the 5th century C. E., (cf. e. g., Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, p. 210). This version, the date of which precludes any Arabic influence, uses the word מדינה as a translation for עיר, πολις = city, e. g., Amos 4 8 מדינן = ערים; עסרת מדינתא 'Decapolis' (Matt 4 25).

There is proof, however, that מדינה was used in the meaning of "city" at an earlier date. The LXX at Dan 11 24 translates מדינה by πολις and so does the translator Symmachus (2nd–3rd century C. E.) in several places in the Bible: I Kings 20 14, Dan 8 2 (cf. Field, or the Cambridge and Göttingen editions respectively). These are unshakable proofs that the word מדינה *was* known with the meaning of "city" many hundred years prior to the Arab invasion. Incidentally, it also occurs in the Palmyrene inscriptions, the last of which was written in 272 C. E.

Thus the word מדינה meaning "city" *is Aramaic.* Not only is it Aramaic, but according to the foremost authorities in the field, Th. Nöldeke and S. Fränkel, the Arabic مدينة 'city' is *a loan word from Aramaic.* This is expressly stated by Fränkel in *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 280. Prof. Jeffery of Columbia University in *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Koran*, pp. 260–61, sides with this view. He says, "The truth is that it . . . is not an Arabic formation at all being . . . a borrowing from the Aramaic מדינה, Syriac מדינתא." This is also the view held by Prof. J. Horowitz, in his *Koranische Untersuchungen.* I have not been able to discover any scholar who disagrees with this view.

Even if we ignore other flaws[8] to be found in his statement, there are at least two points that render Zeitlin's dating baseless: 1) The word מדינה meaning "city" is Aramaic and was well known hundreds of years before the Arab conquest. 2) The word مدينة in Arabic was borrowed from Aramaic.

In conclusion, the linguistic evidence all points to a date in the 1st century C. E., or possibly the 1st century B. C. E., for the Genesis Apocryphon. No argument introduced by Zeitlin stands in the way of this conclusion.

[7] Cf. Baumgartner's *Dictionary of B. A., s. v.* מדינה, p. 1092.

[8] Zeitlin says: "Damascus was a capital in the years 661–750 C. E. under the Omayyad Caliphs. If we were to assume that למדינת דרמשק is to be rendered 'the city of Damascus,' it is apparent the Scroll was written in the Arabic period." In the first place, there is no need to assume that מדינה here means "city." It might equally well mean "province." Secondly, in Arabic the word means "city" and not necessarily "capital." Therefore, the date mentioned by Zeitlin is entirely irrelevant.

"DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME" (I COR 11 24)

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WHATEVER conclusions may ultimately be reached in the current attempt to find a parallel for the institution of the Lord's Supper — if not its actual origin — in the solemn community meals of the Qumran sectaries, from a *formgeschichtliche* point of view there remains the very strong likelihood that, at any rate, the writers of the Synoptic Gospels saw the origin of this institution in the *seder* service of the Jewish Passover.[1] Whether, in view of the apparently contradictory evidence of the Gospel of John, the events described actually did take place during a *seder* is, of course, still a matter of debate, and the arguments on both sides have been conveniently listed by Jeremias.[2] The latter strongly defends the view which sees the origin of the Lord's Supper in the Jewish Passover celebration. But even if this view be rejected, a mediating position, based on I Corinthians, a primary source for our subject, could still be maintained. W. D. Davies regards it as a "justifiable assumption that I Corinthians was written before the Passover season, and it is natural that the Passover ritual should be in the forefront of Paul's thought."[3] Since Paschal ideas dominate in Paul's view of the Eucharist, Davies even wonders whether it was not "through the influence of Paul that the Last Supper came to be looked on as the Passover meal" — without, of course, meaning to deny that "in any case Paschal thoughts were in the mind of Jesus at the Last Supper."[4]

Seen in this light, the *seder* service, commemorating the Liberation from Egypt, and anticipating the messianic Redemption, must have gained an additional significance for the disciples on account of the "fulfilment." Henceforth it would be impossible for them merely to attach the traditional meanings to the symbols and the symbolical foods

[1] Matt 26 17 ff.; Mark 14 12 ff.; Luke 22 7 ff. Cf. David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956), for a detailed investigation of parallels between the Gospels and the Passover *haggadah*. One need not agree with all of Daube's conclusions in order to regard such an investigation *per se* as most valuable and instructive.

[2] Cf. Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Engl. trans.; Oxford, 1955), and particularly the Bibliography on pp. 177–83.

[3] W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1948), p. 250.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 250n.

of this ceremony. The complete *heilsgeschichtliche* road, which Jewish tradition knows as פסח מצרים,[5] פסח דורות,[6] and פסח לעתיד,[7] had now been traversed,[8] so that the hope of ultimate Redemption had become the *reality* of Redemption; and it had become that through, and because of, Jesus.

There is, therefore, a profound psychological truth in Paul's transmission of the institution of the Lord's Supper,[9] when he adds the words, "Do this in remembrance of me," to Jesus' description of the bread as his "body," and the words, "Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me" to Jesus' reference to the cup as "the new covenant in my blood." That Paul's words are added in some versions[10] to Luke's account of the Last Supper would indicate that even the "unembellished" account of the Synoptics was understood in this sense.

Paul's εἰς ἀναμνησιν is, of course, the equivalent of לזכר or זכר of the *haggadah*,[11] but there seems to be no unanimity as to who is to do the remembering and what the "remembering" signifies. Davies, who feels that "Christ has been substituted for 'the day thou camest forth out of Egypt' " of the *haggadah*,[12] would understand the words in the sense in which they have been rendered in the RSV: "Do this in remembrance of me." But Jeremias, basing himself on other uses of זכר in Jewish liturgy as well as on the eucharistic prayers of the Didache, makes the phrase mean "that God may remember me." "That means the Eucharist is an ἀναμνησις of the Kyrios, not because it reminds the Church of the event of the Passion, but because it proclaims the beginning of the time of salvation, and prays for the inception of the consummation."[13]

This interpretation of ἀναμνησις is, however, strange within the context of the very *seder* meal which Jeremias himself regards as the *Sitz im Leben* of this institution. Not only is it true, as Dalman points out,[14] that, "apart from the wine, most of what was done at this (*seder*)

[5] Mishna Pesaḥim 9 5. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] This phrase does not seem to occur prior to the *piyyut* פסח אמתים שיר שוררוהו of the 11th century poet Joseph b. Jacob. (Cf. Zunz, *Litteraturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, pp. 172 f.) The idea, however, — as distinct from the actual phrase — goes back to the Mekilta. (Cf. Pisḥa, chap. 14, to Exod 12 42: ליל שמורים הוא לי' וגו' בו נגאלו ובו עתידין להגאל, "In that night they were redeemed, and in that night they will be redeemed in the future.") W. Heidenheim, in his comments on the above-mentioned *piyyut* (printed in אוצר התפלות, *ad loc.*) makes it clear that the poet was utilizing rabbinic materials throughout. Cf. also Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 137.

[8] Cf. particularly Mark 14 25 and parallels; and see Daube's perceptive comments on this, *op. cit.*, pp. 350 f.

[9] I Cor 11 23–25.

[10] Cf. Huck-Lietzmann, *Gospel Parallels* (New York, 1949), p. 166n.

[11] Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 252; and cf. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 ff.

[12] *Loc. cit.* [13] Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[14] Gustaf Dalman, *Jesus — Jeshua* (Engl. trans.; London, 1929), p. 177.

meal was in remembrance of something, and had almost the character of a symbol," but there is actually a liturgical use of זכר during the *seder* ceremony which leaves us in little doubt as to the meaning of *εις αναμνησις*.

The last item on the *seder* menu, after which no further eating is allowed, is a piece of unleavened bread, set aside earlier in the evening, called *afikoman*. In the Sephardic and Oriental rituals, when the *afikoman* is eaten, the following words are recited: זכר לקרבן פסח הנאכל על השובע, "In memory of the Passover sacrifice, eaten after one is sated."[15] Noteworthy in our present context is not only the use of the word זכר to give symbolical significance to a piece of unleavened bread which is to remind those who eat it of the (no longer actual) Paschal sacrifice. But the stipulation that the Paschal lamb had to be eaten "after one is sated"[16] also sheds light on vs. 34 of I Cor 11, where Paul, in speaking of the prerequisites for participation in the Eucharist, warns: "If any one is hungry, let him eat at home!" Paul was here applying the regulations governing the Passover sacrifice (which had to be eaten with "intent," and not for mere physical satiation) to the "body and blood of the Lord," since, for him, Christ had taken the place of the Passover.

Thus far we have been concerned with the problem of seeing Paul's *εις αναμνησις* within the context of the Passover meal. The parallels we have adduced would tend to support the views of Dalman and Davies, as against Jeremias, that the זכר which Jesus instituted was, according to Paul, a זכר by which the disciples were to remember him and his redemptive act rather than a prayer that *God* may remember him. There is, however, in the traditional Jewish observance of the *seder* yet a further parallel which seems to have been overlooked so far.[17] The point to which we want to address ourselves is this: that, within the framework of the rabbinic Passover meal, allowance is made for the reinterpretation of the symbolic foods, and for the eating of them "in remembrance" of a person not involved in the original Passover story. To prevent any misunderstanding of what follows, let it be clearly stated at the outset that we are merely concerned with the fact itself, and not in the least with questions of chronological priorities.

It is a fact that in the traditional *haggadah* (the service manual for the *seder* meal, largely composed of tannaitic material) there is no mention at all of the person of Moses, the "hero" of the Passover drama.

[15] Cf. E. D. Goldschmidt, *Die Pessach-Haggadah* (Berlin, 1936), p. 71.

[16] Based on Mekilta, Pisḥa, chap. 6, *ad* Exod 12 8.

[17] Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 178, comes close to mentioning it, but, by confining his remarks to the phrase זכר לשקדש in b. Pesaḥim 115a without paying attention to the word יהלל which is part of that phrase, he misses the *personal* reference. To demonstrate the latter is the task of the following pages.

This may have been accidental. But it is also possible that this omission was intentional. No person or hero was to be commemorated on this occasion. The real "hero" of this drama, as it unfolds in the traditional account, was God himself! Indeed, there is a *midrash* incorporated in the Passover *haggadah* which may give us a clue to this omission.[18]

The following comments are made on Exod 12 12: " 'For I will go through the land of Egypt in that night' — *I, not an angel*: 'And I will smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt' — *I, not a seraph*: 'And against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgment' — *I, not a messenger*. 'I am the Lord' — *I am he, and no other*."[19]

Yet, while the remembrance of even a Moses does not enter the *seder* service, mention *is* made of the memory of Hillel (roughly, a contemporary of Jesus), and that in connection with the symbolic foods.[20]

After the "blessing" (ברכה) has been said over the unleavened bread, and the latter has been distributed among, and partaken of by, the participants, another "blessing" is recited over the bitter herb, which is then likewise distributed and eaten. The "blessings" recited in both instances are those called for by the performance of a commandment of the Law, viz., "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, Our God, King of the Universe, who sanctified us by his commandments, and commanded us concerning . . ." The biblical commandments in question are those contained in Exod 12 8: "With unleavened bread and bitter herbs shall they eat it (i. e., the Paschal lamb)." It is clear from the form of the "blessings" used that the Scripture words are interpreted to imply *two* distinct commandments: unleavened bread and bitter herbs.

But after the unleavened bread and the bitter herbs have been eaten separately, a "sandwich" is made by enclosing some of the bitter herb in two pieces of unleavened bread, and, before this is eaten, the following is said (which, be it noted, is not, in any technical sense, a "blessing"): "זכר למקדש כהלל."[21] Thus Hillel was accustomed to do when the Temple was still standing: he used to place together some of the Paschal offering, unleavened bread, and bitter herb, and eat them as one, to fulfil what is said (Num 9 11): 'Upon unleavened bread and bitter herbs shall they eat it.' "

[18] For the sources of this *midrash* see E. D. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 54 n. The translation of the *haggadah* quoted in this article is that of Cecil Roth, *The Haggadah — A New Edition* (London, 1934). The *midrash* under discussion is found on pp. 24 f.

[19] It is an interesting field for speculation to determine whether or not this *midrash* already represents a Jewish reaction to the role of Jesus in Christianity in general, and in the *seder* ritual in particular. But that is outside the scope of our present inquiry. For the view that Jesus himself appropriated the sentiments of this very *midrash*, cf. Daube, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–29.

[20] Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[21] See below for a discussion of the translation of this phrase.

In other words, it was Hillel's understanding of the biblical law, based upon the *waw conjunctive* in the phrase על מצות ומרורים, that this law is only fulfilled when the three symbolical foods are eaten at the same time.

From a discussion recorded in the Babylonian Talmud,[22] in which tannaitic sources are adduced, it becomes evident that Hillel's interpretation of this law was not shared by his colleagues.[23] They held that the law can likewise be fulfilled if the symbolical foods are eaten separately. There are, moreover, two distinct levels in that discussion. From the point of view of Jewish observance after the destruction of the Temple, the eating of bitter herbs (mentioned in the Bible in connection with the Paschal sacrifice only) is a "rabbinical" commandment. The eating of unleavened bread (mentioned in the Bible also apart from the Paschal sacrifice) remains a "biblical" commandment. There is, therefore, opposition to the "sandwich" on the basis of the two distinct sources of authority which govern the eating of the two symbolical foods. What is, however, of supreme importance within our present context is the information given there that Hillel, who lived while the Temple was still standing, was outvoted by his own contemporaries.[24] The decision ultimately arrived at in the Talmud is that followed by the current practice, namely to eat the foods separately, each with its own "blessing," and then to combine them both into a "sandwich" and eat them — albeit without a "blessing" — זכר למקדש כהלל.

Now, the last-mentioned phrase, in strict grammatical construction, would have to be translated just in the way Roth does it:[25] "In remembrance of the Temple, according to the custom of Hillel." This translation would suggest that what is being remembered is the Temple rather than Hillel. This, however, is hardly the case. While it is true that Hillel's "sandwich," made with meat of the Paschal sacrifice, unleavened bread and bitter herbs, was possible only during Temple days, so that the latter-day "sandwich" (minus the meat) thus serves as a reminder of what was possible during the days of the Temple, it is likewise true, as we have seen, that Hillel's practice did not at all reflect the practice of his contemporaries. Rather was it his own peculiar interpretation of what the Law required. That is why Rashi, the famous commentator on Bible and Talmud (1040–1105), in his comments on

[22] B. Pesaḥim 115a; and cf. b. Zebaḥim 79a.

[23] In the determination of a ruling (הלכה) in rabbinic discussions the view of the majority prevails.

[24] דתניא אמרו עליו על הלל שהיה כורכן בבת אחת ואוכלן וגו' . . . אמר רבי יוחנן חולקין עליו חבריו על הלל דתניא יכול יהא כורכן בבת אחת ואוכלן כדרך שהלל אוכלן תלמוד לומר על מצות ומרורים יאכלוהו אפילו זה בפני עצמו וזה בפני עצמו: The term דתניא indicates a tannaitic source.

[25] Roth, *loc. cit.*

b. Pesaḥim 115a, takes the reference to the Temple in a temporal sense, and interprets the phrase to mean: "In remembrance of what Hillel used to do at the time when the Temple was still standing, when they ate their Paschal lambs."[26]

It is in this manner, too, that the Passover *haggadah* itself interprets the phrase זכר למקדש כהלל, when it elaborates: "Thus was Hillel accustomed to do when the Temple was still standing . . . ." The remembrance, therefore, is that of Hillel rather than that of the Temple. As such, moreover, it was all the more likely to appear to the ordinary Jew who conducted the *seder* service on the basis of the *haggadah* (many versions of which in any case left out the reference to the sacrificial meat in describing Hillel's custom), and who had no familiarity with the somewhat technical discussion in the Talmud out of which this phrase originally arose.

What has happened here is simply this: Hillel's interpretation of the law, being perhaps somewhat too literal in this particular instance, was officially rejected. Normally, a rejected interpretation of a ceremonial law, while certainly mentioned in rabbinic literature, would not be perpetuated in actual ritual practice. But the case of the popular Hillel was different! *His* practice, though technically rejected even in the days when the Temple was still standing, was nevertheless incorporated as a rubric in the official *haggadah*. Thus, unleavened bread and bitter herb are first eaten separately, "in order to fulfil the Law." But then they are combined, no longer to fulfil the Law, but in order to commemorate Hillel. To paraphrase Paul, as often as a Jew eats the symbolical Passover foods in this particular combination, he does this "in remembrance of Hillel."

It is not suggested that the use of the ceremonial foods "in remembrance of Hillel" has anywhere near the force of the use of the ceremonial foods eaten "in remembrance" of Jesus. The place which Hillel holds in Judaism is not at all analogous to the place held by Jesus in Christianity. But what should make an interesting footnote to I Cor 11 23–25 is the very fact that, within Judaism itself, the symbolical Passover foods, whatever their original significance, lent themselves to association with the memory of persons, so that, when they are eaten, it is done "in remembrance of . . ."

[26] זכר למה שהיה עושה הלל בזמן שבהמ"ק קיים שהיו אוכלים פסחיהם:

PAUL'S THORN IN THE FLESH

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IN II Cor 12 7 Paul speaks of the σκολοψ τη σαρκι 'thorn in the flesh,' which was given him to keep him from exalting himself too much. This singular reference has been seized upon by scholars, historians,[1] and popular novelists,[2] and has been elaborated into astounding proportions. Almost without exception today the *thorn* is assumed to represent some physical debility. This is the view of Bultmann,[3] Deissmann,[4] Knox,[5] Lietzmann,[6] Lightfoot,[7] Ramsay,[8] and Schweitzer,[9] among others. So firmly is this opinion held that Goodspeed translates σκολοψ τη σαρκι as "a bitter physical affliction"[10] and Phillips translates it "a physical handicap."[11] Recent restatements of this generally accepted interpretation occur in *The Interpreter's Bible*,[12] where both the exegete and the expositor reiterate it, and in Arndt & Gingrich's *Lexicon*[13] where σκολοψ is explained in part, "Paul alludes to his illness."

[1] *E. g.*, K. Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York, 1953), p. 74; also probably W. Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1920), p. 27, though the reference is not explicit.

[2] The most recent example is Henrietta Buckmaster's *And Walk in Love* (New York, 1956). She utilizes Ramsay's interpretation of Paul's illness as malaria, *vis.* pp. 203, 204. The classic historical novel of the life of Paul is still S. Asch's *The Apostle* in which the rival theories of Renan (eye trouble), Lightfoot (epilepsy), and Ramsay, are all accepted with impartiality, *vis. The Apostle* (New York, 1943), pp. 328, 337–38, 369–70.

[3] R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (New York, 1951), p. 233.

[4] A. Deissmann, *St. Paul* (London, 1912), pp. 62–63, 195.

[5] J. Knox, *Chapters in a Life of Paul* (Nashville, 1950), p. 91.

[6] H. Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church* (New York, 1949), p. 113.

[7] J. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (New York, 1896), pp. 186–91.

[8] W. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians* (New York, 1900), pp. 422–28; also *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (New York, 1904), pp. 94–97.

[9] A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (New York, 1931), p. 154.

[10] E. Goodspeed, *The New Testament: An American Translation* (Chicago, 1923), p. 351.

[11] J. Phillips, *Letters to Young Churches* (New York, 1950), p. 88.

[12] *The Interpreter's Bible*, X (Nashville, 1953), 407.

[13] W. Arndt & F. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 763–64; it has a good summary of recent articles.

Now, admittedly, the use of *τη σαρκι* lends a sort of superficial plausibility to the physical distress hypothesis. And the galaxy of important scholars who currently accept this interpretation is, of itself, enough to cause one to hesitate before differing with the theory. Nevertheless, the context of the word *σκολοψ* and its own Jewish usage both point in an entirely different direction. They indicate that *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* refers to a person, an enemy of Paul.

This is not a novel interpretation. On the contrary, this was the first interpretation of *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* and dominated biblical exegesis until comparatively recently. The first overt analysis of Paul's figure of speech, so far as I can determine, was by Chrysostom, who understood *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* to refer to Paul's opponents.[14] He takes time in his discussion to argue against "some who have said that he means a kind of pain in the head which was inflicted by the devil." Too frequently this is accepted as Chrysostom's attempt to refute Tertullian's interpretation of *σκολοψ τη σαρκι*. That he refers to Tertullian's writing *On Modesty* is probable; but, far from holding a "pain in the head" theory, Tertullian, both in *On Modesty*[15] and *Against Marcion*,[16] understood *αγγελος σατανα* as a reference to a 'harrying angel.' He merely states that the buffets of the angel (not the *thorn*, note) had been called a headache or earache.

Those who would interpret *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* as a physical ailment begin by equating this phrase with *ασθενειαν της σαρκος* 'weakness of the flesh' of Gal 4 13, 14. Thus Bishop Lightfoot summarizes opinion on the *thorn* up to his day in his commentary on Galatians.[17] He lists four diverse interpretations. They are:

1. It was some bodily ailment. He gives this as the view of Tertullian and Jerome.
2. It was opposition encountered. Supporting this view he lists Chrysostom, Eusebius of Emesa, Hilary, Augustine, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, Photius, and Theophylact.
3. Carnal temptations Lightfoot credits as the view held by Aquinas, Bellarmine, Cornelius à Lapide, and Estius. He states that it is the view which Roman Catholic writers have for the most part adopted.
4. Spiritual trials he cites as the interpretation suggested by Luther as an alternative to Chrysostom's view.

Lightfoot rejects all answers except the first. His reasoning in thus establishing the *thorn* as a bodily ailment depends, however, on there being "twin references to the malady."

This technique of using *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* and *ασθενειαν της σαρκος* as synonyms and of transferring arguments about the latter to the former

[14] Chrysostom *Homily on II Corinthians* chap. xxvi.
[15] Tertullian *On Modesty* chap. xiii.
[16] *Ibid.*, *Against Marcion* Book V chap. xii.
[17] Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–91.

is quite improper unless one has demonstrated that the two phrases do in fact refer to the same thing. A fairly rigorous demonstration would seem to be required. Yet there is no such proof. I can scarcely overemphasize this vitally important fact. Lightfoot gives the following as his reason for equating the phrases: "These passages so closely resemble each other that it is not unnatural to suppose the allusion to be the same in both."[18] But what is the similarity? It is merely this: that both phrases use the word *σαρξ*. These two uses, however, are scarcely unique — or even so rare as immediately to suggest a connection. *σαρξ* is a word which Paul uses dozens of times elsewhere in the two letters and scores of times in his total correspondence. Even if the two phrases were proved to be identical, the case for the bodily ailment theory would be inconclusive; since there is no such proof, theories about *ασθενειαν της σαρκος* should not affect our understanding of *σκολοψ τη σαρκι*. The nature of the latter can be demonstrated on literary grounds quite independently. This is the task to which I address the rest of this paper.

Let us then turn to II Cor 12 7 and examine Paul's use of *σκολοψ τη σαρκι*. The context of Paul's phrase indicates that it refers to a person.

In the first place *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* is immediately thereafter characterized as *αγγελος σατανα*. The normal, expected use of *αγγελος* is with reference to a person (whether to an earthly person or to a heavenly person is beside the point). Admittedly, Paul could here be personifying an ailment as *αγγελος σατανα*; however, I find no other place where Paul uses *αγγελος* to refer to anything but a personal entity.

Likewise, the verb, *κολαφιζη*, which Paul uses to describe the activity of the *αγγελος* is one which describes rather a human and a distinctly personal activity — that of beating with the fist. Again, there is the fact that Paul retains his reference to a person throughout the paragraph, speaking of beseeching the Lord about *him* (*τουτου*), not *this thing* (AV), nor *this* (RSV).

Finally, the larger context of the epistle as a whole demands that the passage be interpreted as a reference to a personal enemy. The letter is saturated with a sense of conflict between Paul, a true apostle (12 12) and certain false apostles (11 13). To Paul this is a war between God and Satan: with God, of course, being represented on the human scene by Paul, and Satan being represented by the false apostles. In this connection, Paul speaks of Satan disguising himself as *αγγελον φωτος* 'an angel of light' (11 14). The basic concept is of a struggle between the angels of light, who are angels of God, and angels of darkness, who are angels of Satan.[19] This pattern of thought — even to its literary ex-

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[19] This underlying concept must have been rather well known in the first century,

pression — is elaborated at length later in the Epistle of Barnabas; there *αγγελοι του σατανα* 'angels of Satan' are set over the Way of Darkness as *αγγελοι του θεου* 'angels of God' are set over the Way of Light.[20] The structure of imagery is, however, implicit in II Corinthians. There can be no doubt that in II Cor 11 11–15, where Paul speaks of Satan disguising himself as an angel of light, Paul's use of *αγγελος* refers to a person. Moreover, in that same paragraph Paul speaks of certain enemies of his as servants of Satan (*διακονοι αυτου*) and says that they disguise themselves as Satan disguised himself as an angel of light. When therefore, a very few verses later Paul speaks of an angel of Satan, there ought to be no doubt that here, too, he is referring to an enemy of his. Paul's thought has moved from the realm of enemies-in-general, servants of Satan that they are, to a specifically obnoxious member of the clan, a particular *αγγελος σατανα*.

It is not merely the context of the phrase which necessitates interpreting *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* as referring to a personal enemy of Paul. The phrase itself is one which any Jew of Paul's time would have recognized as a literary idiom for an enemy.

In Num 33 55 the LXX speaks of the Canaanites whom the Israelites permit to remain in the land as *σκολοπες εν τοις οφθαλμοις υμων* 'thorns in your eyes.' This use of *σκολοψ* is identical with Paul's own.

In Ezek 28 24 the LXX speaks of the foes who surround Israel on every side as *σκολοψ πικριας* 'a thorn of bitterness.'

To these two examples which use the very word *σκολοψ* in the same way that Paul did, we must add several other phrases in the LXX as being of equal importance in illuminating the literary figure which Paul uses. Some of these are:[21]

Num 33 55 *βολιδες εν ταις πλευραις υμων*	'arrows in your side'
Josh 23 13 *ηλους εν ταις πτερναις υμων*	'nails in your heels'
Josh 23 13 *βολιδας εν τοις οφθαλμοις υμων*	'arrows in your eyes'
Ezek 28 24 *ακανθα οδυνης*	'a thorn of pain'

and earlier and later. One naturally thinks of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the MS of *The War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness*. Far more to the present point, however, are chapters three and four of the *Manual of Discipline* with its opposition of the Prince of Lights to the Angel of Darkness. The Pseudepigrapha are studded with reflections of the conflict, Beliar (or Belial) frequently being named as chief of the forces of darkness.

[20] *Vide* K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (New York, 1925), I, 400, 401. Also cf. Matt 25 41, II Pet 2 4, Jude 6, Rev 12 7–9, and the Didache.

[21] It is true that *σκολοψ τη σαρκι* uses the dative alone rather than with *εν* as in Num & Jos. This could, of course, be interpreted as refuting the idea that the *thorn* is *in* Paul's flesh, as indicating that the *thorn* is external (to the flesh) rather than internal. Again it could be interpreted as a subtle distinction between Paul's condition and that of Israel in the examples cited; i. e. Paul's enemy was not always present as were the enemies of Israel. These are possible interpretations. Yet I doubt that Paul had any

Paul's own phrase σκολοψ τη σαρκι could be substituted for any of the above phrases without in the least changing the essential meaning of the original.[22]

The importance of this literary precedent is not diminished even in the unlikely event that one denies Paul's familiarity with the LXX, for the LXX merely translated the Hebrew figures of speech into Greek. The effectiveness of these pungent expressions is transparent in any language. The fact is that the OT speaks of people — of enemies — as "a briar to prick or a thorn to hurt," as "pricks in your eyes and thorns in your sides," and as "a scourge on your sides, and thorns in your eyes." This provides the literary pattern for Paul's phrase "thorn in the flesh." The clear interpretation of Paul's use is, therefore, as referring to a person, an enemy.

such nice distinctions in mind when he wrote the phrase. I feel he would as readily have approved of the insertion of εν as of τη σαρκι by itself as expressing his meaning. Also worth footnoting is the fact that he did *not* say "sent me a thorn in *my* flesh."

[22] Other references using σκολοψ and related terms to refer to people are: Cant 2 2, Ezek 2 6, I Kings 14 9, II Chron 25 8, and Mic 7 4. The use of a term like *thorn* or *nettle* to refer to enemies was, therefore, a common idiom in Paul's day.

EZEKIEL 17 AND THE POLICY OF PSAMMETICHUS II

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THIS paper has been inspired by the observation that: 1) All the available evidence for the activity and influence of Psammetichus II in the affairs of Syria-Palestine has not yet been set forth and assessed in its full weight;[1] and 2) The bearing of this activity on the exegesis of the political allegory in Ezekiel 17 has not yet been generally recognized.[2]

[1] There is a wide divergence of opinion regarding the Asiatic policy of Psammetichus II. Breasted, writing before publication of the John Rylands papyri (see next paragraph), assigned to this king no active policy in Asia (*HE* [1909], p. 585). The same viewpoint was later maintained by Hall (*CAH*, III [1925], 300 f.), and more recently by P. G. Elgood (*Later Dynasties of Egypt* [1951], pp. 93 f.) and F. K. Kienitz (*Die politische Geschichte Aegyptens* [1953], pp. 25 ff.). The bulk of the historians of Israel adopt this view. T. H. Robinson (in *HI*, I [1932], 435) follows Breasted; Malamat (*JNES*, IX [1950], 224) and Noth (*GI*[2] [1954], p. 265) ignore Psammetichus II. The Pharaoh's expedition to Syria (Rylands papyrus) is no more than noted by S. A. Cook (*CAH*, III, 399 f.), Kittel (*GVI*, III [1927], 4), and Meyer (*GA*, III[2] [1937], 176; note that Psammetichus II is ignored in the discussion of Asiatic politics on p. 622).

On the other hand, F. Ll. Griffith maintained on the basis of Rylands papyrus IX(b), which he edited in *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III (1909), 92 ff., that "each Pharaoh, from Psammetichus I to Apries warred in Syria" (*ibid.*, p. 95). He was seconded by Alt, who added further evidence from the Bible and the letter of Aristeas (*ZAW*, XXX [1910], 288 ff.). Jirku (*GVI* [1931], p. 219) and Albright (in *The Jews*, ed. Finkelstein, I [1949], 47) recognize explicitly the role of Psammetichus II in Judah's revolt. Olmstead, by juxtaposing the Pharaoh's Syrian expedition with the account of the incipient revolt in Jer 27, seems tacitly to imply a connection between the two (*HPS* [1931], p. 523).

[2] The commentaries of Cooke ("ICC" [1937]), Bewer ("Harper's Annotated Bible Series" [1954]), Bertholet ("Handbuch zum AT" [1936]), and Fohrer ("Handbuch zum AT" [1955]), make no mention of Psammetichus II in their comment to Ezek 17. They refer the second vulture of the allegory to Apries.

Jirku, however, does connect Ezek 17 with Psammetichus II, although in his history (*loc. cit.*) he could neither adduce the evidence nor deal with the exegetical difficulties. More expanded treatment will be found in A. Cahana's comment to Aristeas § 13 (*Ha-sfarim Ha-hiẓonim*, II [Tel Aviv, 1937], 25), where Ezek 17 18 ff. is added to the material adduced by Alt. Cahana is followed by Hadas in *Aristeas to Philocrates* (1951), pp. 99 f. [illegible] Vogelstein (*Biblical Chronology* [Cincinnati, 1944] pp. 13 f.) also recognizes the [illegible]ction of Psammetichus II with Ezek 17, as do Y.

I

Our sources provide the following data concerning the affairs of Palestine and Syria during the reign of Psammetichus II — from the second half of 594 to the beginning of 588 B. C.[3]

1. Some time between the autumn of 594 and the summer of 593 (Jer 27, 28 1)[4] a gathering of envoys from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon took place in Jerusalem. Their host was Zedekiah, whom Nebuchadnezzar had set upon the throne of Judah after conquering it four years earlier. At that time, the Babylonian king had imposed an oath of fealty on Zedekiah (Ezek 17 13), to which he had remained loyal so long as prospect of successful rebellion was dim. Now, in Zedekiah's fourth year, Judah's neighbors were met in Jerusalem to discuss common action against the lordship of Babylon. That this was their purpose is plain from Jeremiah's message to the assembled envoys:

> Thus says the Lord of Hosts: "This is what you shall say to your masters . . . 'I have given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar . . . but if any nation or kingdom will not serve this Nebuchadnezzar . . . and put its neck under the yoke of the king of Babylon, I will punish that nation with sword, with famine, and with pestilence . . .' " (Jer 27 4–8).

The subversive ferment had its own prophets, however, who — as Jeremiah tells us — prophesied to the members of the coalition, "You shall not serve the king of Babylon" (vs. 9).

2. In the winter of the same year, 594 (Kislev of Nebuchadnezzar's eleventh year), the Babylonian chronicle relates that Nebuchadnezzar called out his army against Syria.[5] This was the first military expedition

Kaufmann (*Toldot Ha-emuna Ha-yisr'elit*, III/2 [1948], 511, n. 41), and S. Spiegel (*Sefer Turov* [Boston, 1938], pp. 210 f.).

The unsettled state of this question, evident from the literature surveyed in this and the preceding note, suggests that a presentation of all the evidence and a detailed discussion of its possible application to the exegesis of Ezek 17 is in order.

[3] Kienitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f. dates the accession of Psammetichus II between May 4, 594 (last date of Necho) and Nov. 23, 594 (first date of Psammetichus II); his death is dated Feb. 8, 588.

[4] For the well-known emendation and combination of these verses, see, e. g. Robinson, *HI*, I, 437, n. 4. That the events of Jer 27 and 28 are to be referred to the fourth year of Zedekiah is agreed by exegetes and historians, early and late. See Qimḥi, *ad loc.*, and the histories of Graetz, Marx-Margolis, Robinson, Noth, etc. MT connects chap. 27 to 28 (בשנה ההיא), and both MT and LXX agree that chap. 28 speaks of the 4th year. To be sure, Akkadian *rēš šarrūti* means the accession year, but does Hebrew ראשית ממלכה also necessarily have this meaning?

I have adopted here the view of Morgenstern, Thiele, *et al.* that the regnal year of Judah at this time began in Tishri. A Nisan-Nisan regnal year would not, in any case, prejudice the argument.

[5] Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (1956), p. 75, l. 25.

into Syria since the campaign of 597, when Zedekiah was set up as king. In January 596 the king went without the army to Syria; probably, as Wiseman suggests,[6] to receive homage and collect tribute. For three years thereafter nothing had necessitated mustering out the army against Syria. What the specific object of the present campaign was, the Babylonian chronicle fails to say because it breaks off at this point.

3. The last available datum from this year is an incidental notice in Jer 51 59 of a journey to Babylon made by king Zedekiah accompanied by his tribute officer.[7] The fourth year of Zedekiah — autumn 594 to autumn 593 — seems thus to have been a fateful year in Syria-Palestine. That it should have included a visit by the vassal to the Babylonian lord is altogether fitting in a year of conspiracy and an apparent armed intervention by the Babylonians. Zedekiah and his officer were, we may presume, called before Nebuchadnezzar to give an account of their treasonable behavior. Whatever apology and further oaths were given, Zedekiah was left upon his throne.[8] Now it is suggestive that the four years of quiet in Syria-Palestine came to an end precisely at the time that a new king arose in Egypt, Psammetichus II.

4. We are not left to inference, however, as to the interest of Psammetichus II in Asiatic affairs. A papyrus from El Hibeh, dating from the time of Darius I, and published by F. Ll. Griffith in 1909,[9] incidentally mentions a visit made to Syria-Palestine by that king. The writer, an Egyptian priest, tells us that:

> In the fourth year of Per'o Psammetk Nefrebrē' [591] messages were sent to the great temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, saying, "Per'o goeth to the land of Khor: let the priests come with the bouquets (?) of the gods of Kēmi [Egypt] to take them to the land of Khor with Per'o."

The political implications of this visit were felt by Griffith, and set forth with characteristic acumen by Alt in 1909.[10] Hall's insistence that this was a purely religious pilgrimage to the ancient Egyptian shrine at Byblos[11] seems to be unduly influenced by the sacerdotal source of our datum. All the Syrian and Phoenician states paid tribute to Nebuchadnezzar after the battle of Carchemish.[12] A royal expedition by the Egyptian king in 591 to vassals of Nebuchadnezzar would seem to have large political implications. All the more so when it is recalled that but

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 35 f.

[7] Rendering מנחה 'tribute' with the Greek and the Targum. Is this word derived from מנה* as קבורה from קבר*, מלוכה from מלך*, etc.?

[8] For comparable treatment of rebels, cf. Assurbanipal's leniency toward Necho and the Arab Abiate' (Pritchard, *ANET*, pp. 295a, 298c).

[9] See n. 1 above, second paragraph. The translation in the text follows Griffith.

[10] See n. 1 above, second paragraph.

[11] *Ibid.*, first paragraph.

[12] Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

three years earlier the coastal cities were seething with revolt (see 1. above).

5. Again we are not left to mere conjecture. The letter of Aristeas (dated by its latest editor to about 130 B. C.[13]) records (§ 13) that even before the Persian conquest of Egypt, Jews "had been sent out to fight in the army of Psammetichus against the king of the Ethiopians." Herodotus (II.161) places this battle just before Psammetichus' death; that is to say, during the two years between his visit to Syria in 591 and his death at the beginning of 588. A contemporary Greek inscription at Abu Simbel in upper Egypt speaks of Egyptians, Greeks, and αλλογλωσσοι 'men of other tongues' among the troops of that expedition.[14] That the latter category included Semites is clear from the graffiti of Abu Simbel which include names in Phoenician script.[15] There is thus no reason to doubt the datum of Aristeas that a Jewish contingent was sent to aid Psammetichus II in his Nubian campaign. But the sending of Jewish soldiers to Egypt during the reign of Zedekiah can hardly be explained as other than part of a reciprocal military agreement.[16] The presence of the Egyptian king in Syria-Palestine just before his Nubian campaign makes it likely that a full-fledged political and military alliance was then entered into between Palestine and Egypt.

Since Jerusalem came under siege in January of 588, we must assume that the Judean revolt broke out some time in 589. The rebels looked to Egypt for support, and from the later sally into Judah made by Apries (Jer 37 5 ff.) we see that they had reasonable ground for their expectation. However, Apries' abortive attempt to rescue Judah cannot have been a new departure in Egyptian policy, but only the execution of the policy of his predecessor. It was Psammetichus II who encouraged Judah to revolt, for it was during his reign — in 589 — that the revolt, based on Egypt's support, broke out. Psammetichus was still alive when the siege of Jerusalem began.

II

How does this bear on the exegesis of Ezekiel's allegory of the two vultures?

Ezekiel 17 is found between prophecies dated summer, 592 (8 1) and summer, 591 (20 1). Its burden is the allegorical representation of Zedekiah's faithlessness toward Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonian king

[13] Hadas, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[14] Cf. K. A. Wiedemann, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, XXXV (1880), 365 ff.

[15] Recently edited by N. Slouschz, *Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions* (Hebrew; Tel Aviv, 1942) pp. 62 ff. Slouschz points out that two names (חנן and עבד) are also found in the Bible.

[16] Rawlinson had already suggested this (*History of Egypt*, II [1882], 497).

is symbolized by a great vulture that has planted a lowly vine — Zedekiah — with the understanding that it will keep its roots under it and look to it for watering. But the vine casts its eye on another vulture, and entwines its roots about it, infuriating the first vulture. The prophet concludes in vs. 9:

> Will he not pull up its roots and cut off its fruit, so that all its fresh sprouting leaves wither? And it will not take a strong arm or many people to pull it from its roots.

Nebuchadnezzar will not find it difficult to dispatch the weak kingdom of Zedekiah.

Who is symbolized by the other vulture? In the light of what has been adduced it seems unnecessary to insist that it is Psammetichus II. Indeed there would be no question were it not for vs. 17, which interprets the figure of vs. 9 thus:

> And not with a great army and a numerous host shall Pharaoh deal with him in battle, when mounds are cast up and forts built to cut off many lives.[17]

The familiarity with Apries' futile sally to aid beleaguered Jerusalem that is reflected here has induced commentators to date the entire chapter to 588 or later, thus sundering it from its present chronological context. Accordingly, Apries is made the Pharaoh with whom Zedekiah trafficked (vs. 15), and upon whom he relied for aid.

It will not have escaped the reader that vs. 17 has entirely altered the meaning of vs. 9: instead of saying that Nebuchadnezzar will not need strong forces to subdue the weak Zedekiah, it introduces Pharaoh into the figure and asserts that he will not bring strong forces to deal with Nebuchadnezzar in battle. It is not only this distortion of the clear meaning of vs. 9 that makes the "interpretation" of vs. 17 suspect; vs. 17, in contradistinction to vs. 9 agrees with later events. Contrary to vs. 9 Nebuchadnezzar did in fact need a great army to overcome Zedekiah in a long drawn-out siege; in agreement with the revision of vs. 17, however, it was indeed Pharaoh's force that was unavailing, and hence, by inference, small. But such prescience on the part of vs. 17 is not calculated to

[17] The verse has been variously translated; only the rendering above takes the following facts into consideration: a) Since the verse expressly interprets vs. 9 its language must be understood in the light of vs. 9. Therefore, just as the לא of vs. 9 negates זרוע גדולה, עם רב, so must the לא of vs. 17 negate חיל גדול, קהל רב (and not the verb יעשה as in the rendering of AV, RV, RSV, JV). b) עשה with את–/אות is, in Ezekiel, always "deal hostilely with"; see 7 27, 16 59, 22 14, 39 24; and 23 25, 29 for even closer parallels to the usage here. For the friendly sense Ezekiel uses only עשה את–, as in 20 44. (The distinction is ignored by AV, RV, RSV, JV).

Hence אותו must be Nebuchadnezzar (not Zedekiah, as suggested by the above-mentioned translations). The verse clearly shows knowledge of Apries' "weak" (because futile) sally against Nebuchadnezzar during the siege of Jerusalem (Jer 37 5 ff.).

inspire confidence in its superiority and originality. The plain sense of the allegory and the innocence of later history shown by vs. 9 not only commend its originality, but suggest that פרעה of vs. 17 is secondary. For without פרעה vs. 17 agrees with, and correctly (though unhistorically) interprets vs. 9. What has apparently occurred is that the unfulfilled prophecy of vs. 9 (and the original form of vs. 17) has been harmonized with later events by the simple expedient of making פרעה the party of the small forces. This radical alteration of the sense of vs. 9 was a small price to pay for the validation of the prophecy. Indeed, in view of the ease with which even modern exegetes have been able to smooth over the difficulty it is doubtful that the allegory was anciently considered to have been disturbed by the gloss.[18]

With the recognition that the פרעה of vs. 17 is secondary, the entire chapter becomes a consistent admonition against Zedekiah's involvement with Psammetichus II, an involvement that reached its climax in the Pharaoh's Syrian expedition (that occurred at the time to which this prophecy is dated), and the subsequent mission of Jewish troops to Nubia. Nothing stands in the way of taking the chapter in its present chronological position, between 592–591.[19] It thus becomes another testimony to Psammetichus II's encouragement of the Judean revolt. Egyptian policy remained the same during the reigns of Necho, Psammetichus II, and Apries: each of these did what he could to assert Egypt's right to its ancient domain in Asia.

[18] Since vs. 17 says explicitly that "Pharaoh shall not deal with him with a great army, etc.," the words ולא בזרוע גדולה ובעם רב of vs. 9 have been understood as referring to Pharaoh also. Thus Rashi: ולא בזרוע גדולה ובעם רב יבא הנשר השני לעזרתה. The JV ingeniously makes room for Pharaoh in vs. 9 by translating the phrase in question, "Neither shall great power or much people be at hand." On the other hand, modern critics too fail to take adequate notice of the obvious discrepancy between the two verses when they term the words an intrusion, or gloss, based on vs. 17 (Bewer, Fohrer). They declare vs. 17 a later (post-588) addition. Do they then propose that a glossator was so obtuse as to intrude from it a phrase speaking of Pharaoh into vs. 9 where it could only be naturally taken as referring to the first vulture, Nebuchadnezzar?

It is true that the phrase ולא בזרוע גדולה וכו' "properly belongs to the interpretation vs. 17, not to the allegory" (Cooke). But it belongs to the interpretation minus פרעה, for only then will vss. 9 and 17 be saying the same thing. Even so it is not certain that it is an "intrusion" rather than an anticipation by the author himself. That פרעה is secondary in vs. 17 was already suggested by Kraetzschmar and Herrmann. (The latter, however, takes the entire verse to be secondary.) In the context of the historical data assembled here this proposal becomes compelling.

[19] That the prophet threatens Zedekiah with capture and judgment in Babylon (vs. 20) is surely no indication of a post-event writing. It was the common practice of Assyrian kings to imprison their rebellious vassals in fetters and punish them in the capital cities. Compare II Chron 33 11. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 511, further points out the lack of awareness of Zedekiah's true fate: his judgment in Riblah, the slaying of his sons, and his blindness.

BOOK REVIEWS

NEW TESTAMENT SECTION

Jesus von Nazareth, by Günther Bornkamm. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1956. Pp. 214. DM 3.60.

The appearance of this book is one of the most significant events in German NT scholarship since World War II. Its great significance lies first of all in the Heidelberg professor's explicit intention to mark a turning point in the history of precisely that problem whose varying treatment in successive generations has given to German NT scholarship its distinctiveness: the problem of the historical Jesus. If the quest of the historical Jesus was the proudest achievement of German historical-critical method in the 19th century, the end of that quest in Wrede, Wellhausen, and Schweitzer gave to 20th century German scholarship its particular emphasis upon the impossibility and illegitimacy of such a quest. Since this current emphasis has centered in the form-critical and theological work of Rudolf Bultmann, the publication of a historical treatment of "Jesus of Nazareth" by an outstanding Bultmannian gives to Bornkamm's work a symptomatic significance for the history of the discipline far beyond that of works written from outside the dominant stream of German scholarship, such as Ernst Percy's fine volume *Die Botschaft Jesu* (1953), or Ethelbert Stauffer's *Jesus: Gestalt und Geschichte* (1957). As Käsemann remarks (*ZThK*, LIV [1957], 11): "Judging by all indications, vigorous debates are to be expected on this point."

Bornkamm's book has a second major significance for the history of post-war German NT scholarship. Typical of the German recovery from the relatively unimportant theological production during the '40s was the reappearance in 1950 of the important *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, where a new trend became evident in the programmatic essay by the editor Gerhard Ebeling on "The Significance of the Historical-critical Method for Protestant Theology and Church." During the first post-war decade this emphasis has meant primarily the replacement of Barthianism by Bultmannianism as the dominant theme in German theology. This has been apparent in the younger scholars who have risen to leading professorial positions, and in the most significant post-war publication trends: Bultmann's own *Theology of the NT*, the demythologizing debate centering in the series of volumes entitled *Kerygma und Mythos*, and the reevaluation of Luke stemming from Dibelius' *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte* and various articles in *Evangelische Theologie*, and carried through by Hans Conzelmann's *Die Mitte der Zeit* and Ernst Haenchen's *Apostelgeschichte*. But the very success of the Bultmannian group has now opened the way for criticism from within the group, in an effort to move beyond the Bultmannian consensus. One of the first indications of this second phase of the post-war trend was Ernst Käsemann's address in 1953 to "old

Marburgers" on "The Problem of the Historical Jesus" (*ZThK*, LI [1954], 125–53), where he concludes: "The question about the historical Jesus is legitimately the question about the continuity of the gospel in the discontinuity of the times and in the variation of the kerygma. We have to ask ourselves such a question and to see therein the legitimacy of the liberal quest of the historical Jesus, whose point of view we no longer share." The "old Marburger" Bornkamm now responds with the *fait accompli* in his *Jesus von Nazareth*. Its symptomatic significance within the course of the Bultmannian movement can best be seen from Käsemann's report on "NT Questions of Today" (*ZThK*, LIV [1957], 1–21). Here the reaccentuation of the historical Jesus by the Bultmannians, Käsemann, Fuchs, and Bornkamm, stands within the context of the first programmatic criticism of Bultmann's whole NT theology from within the Bultmannian group. Whether such criticism is to become a general trend within the Bultmannian school, i. e. in most leading German research during the coming generation, or whether we stand before a division or splintering into various schools, such as characterized the Barthian movement in the '30s, remains to be seen. In view of the twofold significance of Bornkamm's venture, one can only share his feeling expressed in a letter at the appearance of the volume: "I am awaiting echo and criticism impatiently."

The programmatic function of Bornkamm's book places particular importance upon the introductory chapter on "Faith and History in the Gospels," which includes (pp. 20–23) a thematic discussion of the possibility and legitimacy of reopening the quest of the historical Jesus. The quest is now possible not because our view of the sources has changed, but rather because our view of history has changed. An understanding of history does not consist essentially in the still impossible reconstruction of chronology, psychological development, and causal relationships, but rather in an encounter with "history as occurrence and event." However, this view of history had its classic expression in the preface to Bultmann's *Jesus and the Word* of 1926, so that the 30 year *moratorium* in writing this kind of history of Jesus must be attributed to the problem of the theological legitimacy of such a quest. If it was illegitimate to attempt to replace faith with objective proof, a quest could be legitimate which attempted instead to mediate a confrontation with the call for belief or unbelief presented by the historical Jesus.

Bornkamm investigates the legitimacy of a new quest in an interpretation of the evangelists' theological reasons for writing a history of Jesus, reasons already worked out by Käsemann (*ZThK*, LI [1954], 133–34, 138–42): Telling of the heavenly Lord in terms of the earthly Jesus is necessary as a repudiation of myth, for one thereby limits myth to the function of showing the universal significance of the unique historical event. The writing of gospels stresses the kerygma's identification of the believed Lord with the earthly Jesus, and thus emphasizes that "faith does not begin with itself, but rather lives from a pre-given history," i. e. is essentially historical encounter. The anachronism of placing oneself back into the position of those who met Jesus during his lifetime gives expression to the fact that even the church remains exposed to history's ambiguity, the possibility of offense, and therefore lives constantly in the position of being called from unbelief to faith. Thus Bornkamm sees the Gospels emphasizing various facets of the Christian insight into the historicity of human existence. But he has not gone on to explicate why these insights ought in our situation today to find expression specifically

in a renewal of the quest of the historical Jesus, rather than simply in commitment to the kerygma, where Bultmann locates them (e. g. *KuM*, I, 146).

This necessity resides basically in the existential situation created when modern historiography made the historical Jesus accessible apart from the kerygma, as he had not been since the first disciples, so that one must either listen in his message for an encounter with the reality of the kerygma (although not necessarily with its conceptual formulations), or by neglecting his message tacitly reject the kerygma's insistence that the Lord is Jesus. This logical consequence is not based upon the rationalistic view that Jesus is primarily a teacher with a system, but rather upon the contemporary view of history presented among other places in the preface to Bultmann's *Jesus and the Word*. The message reveals the historical intention (i. e. the historical reality in the actions), which in turn reveals the view of existence constituting the self: i. e. through the message one encounters the person. If this historical encounter with the person Jesus cannot confront one with the judgment and grace of God's presence, i. e. become the eschatological event, then it is impossible for the eschatological event taking place in the encounter with the kerygma to be described as an encounter with Jesus. It is this implication latent in Bultmann's classification of Jesus within Judaism (in his *Primitive Christianity*), as only a presupposition of NT theology (*NT Th.*, I, 3), which instigated on the part of Käsemann a new concern for the historical Jesus in his message.

Bornkamm's actual presentation of Jesus is in general quite similar to that in Bultmann's *Jesus and the Word*. He does not return to the 19th century type of history (as does Stauffer in his *Jesus: Gestalt und Geschichte*), with its concern for tracing chronology and personality development, but, like Bultmann, seeks an existential confrontation with history found in individual sayings and scenes. Thus the disposition of the book is quite like Bultmann's: it is not "biographical," but theological, in terms of Jesus' message. However something of a biographical cast is given by the addition of chapters on the disciples (vi) and the final trip to Jerusalem (vii), as well as an introductory chapter (iii) sketching what biographical information is available, and, of more significance, describing the human impression Jesus made upon people in a way clearly suggestive of the meaning Jesus has for faith, as if an encounter with Jesus were at least potentially an encounter with the gospel.

The dominant chapters on Jesus' message (iv: Eschatology; v: Ethics) are only subtly a departure from Bultmann's presentation, but this trend is pervasive and in the long run decisive. It is apparent in exegetical details: e. g. the saying about the kingdom in your midst (Luke 17 20 f.), whose ambiguity makes its exegesis symptomatic of one's whole view, is not understood with Bultmann of the future, but, following Kümmel, of the present (p. 62). The discussion of the messianic problem (viii) does not confine itself to the view (shared with Bultmann) that Jesus made no claims to messianic titles, but explains the absence of any such special topic in Jesus' teaching by the view that "the 'messianic' aspect of his being is enclosed *in* his word and act, and in the unmediatedness of his historical appearance" (p. 163). Here we have the center of Bornkamm's view: "Unmediated presence is always the characteristic of Jesus' words, appearance and action, within a world which, as we said, had lost the present, since it lived . . . between past and future, between traditions and promises or threats" (p. 52).

This is not to say that Bornkamm has moved to "realized eschatology" (cf. p. 84), for he sees (with Bultmann) the tension between future and present as inherent in the involvement of the imperative in the indicative, i. e. inherent in the historical understanding of the self. But his trend toward the present does indicate a basic departure from Bultmann. The divergence is apparent when Bornkamm locates already in John the Baptist the shift of the aeons, as a fact constitutive for Jesus' message (pp. 44–46). This view, dependent upon Käsemann (*ZThK*, LI, 149), is a clear departure from Bultmann's view, which tends to minimize the significance of John for Jesus (cf. "Der Mensch zwischen den Zeiten [I] nach dem NT," in *Man in God's Design* [1952], p. 44). Consequently Bultmann makes the shift in aeons the decisive factor distinguishing Jesus from Paul (i. e. from Christianity): "Jesus looks into the future, toward the *coming* reign of God, although to be sure toward the reign *now* coming or dawning. But Paul looks back: *The shift of the aeons has already taken place*.... Paul regards what for Jesus was future as present, i. e. a present which dawned in the past.... Since Jesus only stands in anticipation, his message discloses the situation of man in anticipation, while Paul discloses the situation of man receiving, although to be sure also awaiting; for unless one understands awaiting, one cannot understand receiving. One could also express it as follows: Jesus preaches law and promise, Paul preaches the gospel in its relation to law..." (*GuV*, I, 200 f.). The decisive departure of Bornkamm consists in the fact that he could not make this statement, i. e. could make it only with reference to the distinction between John the Baptist and Jesus ("the difference between the eleventh and the twelfth hour," p. 61). This gradual shift during the past generation in the comparison of Jesus' message and historical person with the church's kerygma is doubtless a further, so to speak, *post facto* reason for the present renewal of the quest of the historical Jesus.

JAMES M. ROBINSON

Jesus Christ the Risen Lord, by Floyd V. Filson. New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956. Pp. 288. $4.00.

Among the leaders in the current revival of interest in biblical theology in America is Floyd V. Filson, who has served as professor of NT, dean, and acting president of McCormick Theological Seminary. Filson is a man of many gifts. His writings include rather technical articles and monographs, translations of important German works, and several books of a semi-popular character for use in the life and work of the church. He is a member of the committee at work on the translation of the Apocrypha (RSV) and has been an associate editor of *JBL*.

Jesus Christ the Risen Lord contains Filson's attempt to state the theology of the Bible from the standpoint of the resurrection of Jesus, which the author regards as "the interpreting clue and the organizing fact of biblical theology" (p. 29). Not in the biblical doctrines of God, man, the incarnation, or in the ministry and teaching of Jesus,

or even in the cross is to be found "the basic interpreting clue" (p. 27); the resurrection alone provides the point of maximum illumination from which all else in the Bible can be seen in true perspective.

Following the lead of C. H. Dodd and others Filson examines the *kerygma* of the primitive community and attempts to show how this proclamation (centering, as he argues, in the resurrection) binds the whole NT together. The OT is said to be "a Christ-related book" (p. 57) and "the Christian interpretation of the OT . . . the true interpretation" (p. 79). It is affirmed that "the legal talmudic development of Judaism — sincere as it was — took the wrong fork in the road. The right road led to Christ" (p. 92).

The Bible's unity is found in the acts of God in the calling, covenanting, disciplining, and redeeming of Israel, the latter effected through the death and resurrection of Jesus and the appearance of the church as the "true" and "new" Israel (p. 185). Jesus is said to have believed that he was accomplishing a redemptive work in behalf of his people and that he regarded himself as the inaugurator of the kingdom of God, both in its present and future aspects. Here Filson takes a position between Dodd and Schweitzer or Bultmann: Jesus saw the kingdom of God as "beginning to come in his work and movement" (p. 104) and looked for the full coming of the kingdom in the near future.

Bultmann is trenchantly criticized at several points in the book, particularly for his apparent indifference to ascertainable facts concerning the life and ministry of Jesus, for his belief that the primitive church, contrary to the intent of Jesus, put him at the center of its theology, and for his (Bultmann's) "non-biblical vagueness" (p. 44) with respect to things to come. Dodd is taken to task for driving too sharp a wedge between *kerygma* and *didache*, for overstressing the kingdom as present in the teaching of Jesus, and for introducing a "Platonic tinge" (p. 259) into the theology of the NT.

The book covers the full range of subjects ordinarily treated in a theology of the NT. The author is a master in the art of clear, concise summarization. Striking also is the fine balance manifested in the positions taken. While the writer claims that the Bible has unity, he insists also on the recognition of its diversity. The place of the individual and the community in biblical thought, the relationship between Jesus and Paul, the tension between present realization and future expectancy, and many other disputed points are treated comprehensively and fairly. His plain talk with respect to Paul's meaning in Romans 7 (Paul is speaking not about the situation of the Christian but about the dilemma of a man under the law), and about Paul's alleged universalism (denied) is salutary. His repeated emphasis on the progressive character of the community's understanding of the meaning of God's acts in history is helpful.

The book is much too good for extensive faultfinding. There are places, however, where the importance of the resurrection — at the expense of the cross — seems overstressed. As A. M. Ramsey has so well shown, crucifixion-resurrection (life through death) is the center of NT theology. Filson knows this but sometimes overemphasizes the one side. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the atonement is conceived in the NT primarily in substitutionary terms. Vincent Taylor's arguments against this

reading of the data seem compelling. Only a few printing errors mar an otherwise beautifully printed book (on pp. 72, 92, 94).

As a whole it may be said that the book is a splendid contribution to the rapidly growing list of works in the field of biblical theology. Many seminary and college teachers will want to use it in their courses.

EDWARD P. BLAIR

A Jewish Understanding of the New Testament, by Samuel Sandmel. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1956. Pp. xx+321. $5.00.

Professor Sandmel has written this introduction to the NT as a scholar from the standpoint of "the modernism and rationalism of Reform Judaism," and as a student of the liberal Protestant tradition of NT study. This tradition he believes to be the approach best acceptable and valuable for Jews. The book was written for laymen about things that he feels they want to know. Sandmel is a most able writer, and has a remarkable ability to express clearly difficult ideas and problems in a short space. Such an ability keeps the reader's interest and carries him along at a rapid pace.

The usual introductory problems are discussed, and often several theories about a problem are mentioned; but the author usually expresses the one he prefers, although he admits it is often a minority opinion. The reader will often wish that more of the author's reasons for his conclusions might have been given or worked out in greater detail. For example, Sandmel explains the theory of the Q source and then promptly rejects it as unnecessary, feeling that it is sufficient to assume that Luke used Matthew and Mark as his sources. This conclusion like many others is not supported with other than a statement of personal preference and inclination. Although it has never been easy to decide what material in the Gospels and Acts is to be considered history, this reviewer feels that the author has relegated more material like the passion narrative and the Acts account of Paul to ecclesiastical tradition and legend than is justified. But it is both interesting and challenging to the Christian reader to see how a scholar of a different faith reads and evaluates Christian scripture. It is apparent that there is a difference and a difference that the Christian should note and consider.

In a way this book is an apology to both Jews and Christians as Sandmel explains how Judaism of the biblical period produced both rabbinical Judaism and Christianity, two faiths that are both similar and different, and can now be mutually appreciated in both their similarities and differences. The author spends a good deal of time pointing out anti-Jewish passages in the NT. While it is obvious that there are many such passages, it seems to this reader that the reason given for this bias for some is not cogent and another interpretation showing no anti-Jewish bias might be plausible.

Sandmel points out that the production of the NT was a process that contributed to a separation of the Christian church from the mother faith. Beginning with Paul

who gave the ideological argument for separation, followed by the tragedy of the war of A. D. 66–70 which gave the Christians a new-felt justification for independent existence, and continuing with the anti-Jewish passages in the Gospels and later NT books, until finally with the production of a canon of 27 books, the early church made its break with Judaism complete. Sandmel is right in realizing that the oft-given date of A. D. 70 for separation is too early, but how long before the Christians can be said to have a canon of 27 books is still subject for debate. We can thank Sandmel for pointing out a factor that is not usually considered.

A reading of this book by both Jewish and Christian laymen might lead to a better appreciation of both faiths, and the realization that the tensions that caused the early church and rabbinical Judaism to go their separate ways need not cause present day difficulty between the two faiths. This worthy purpose will certainly make this book valuable reading.

R. H. SALES

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THE WESTMINSTER PRESS, Philadelphia 7

The Problem of History in Mark, by James M. Robinson. ("Studies in Biblical Theology," No. 21.) Naperville: Alec. R. Allenson, Inc. 1957. Pp. 95. $1.75.

The "Studies in Biblical Theology" series has made a number of very important additions to the literature of biblical scholarship, and the latest volume is well worthy to take its place with the best of them. It deals with one small but extremely significant part of a problem which has been raised afresh by the debate on demythologizing, and deals with it more effectively and more lucidly than either Bultmann or his German critics. The main reason for this success is that the author has determined not to impose his own conception of history on the Gospels but rather to allow Mark to speak for himself.

The first chapter is a rapid survey of the various schools of Markan exegesis in the 20th century: the Ebionites who regarded Mark as objective history and found psychological explanations for the supernatural; the Docetists to whom the Gospels were truths embodied in a myth; and the more recent Nestorians, whose two-natures doctrine of history has distinguished between *Historie*, the causal nexus in the affairs of men, and *Geschichte*, the existential encounter of man with the divine purpose. None of these schools is subjected to a detailed critique, for it is the author's purpose, not to enter into controversy, but to show by a detailed examination of the Gospel that Mark's conception of history is quite different from any of them.

The argument is in four parts. In the first place our attention is drawn to Mark's introduction. When Mark first mentions the preaching of the gospel by Jesus (1 14 f.), he declares that the time *has been* fulfilled and the kingdom of God *has* drawn near. The two perfect tenses denote an event completed in the past, and the fact that this message is news indicates that it is also a recent event. The obvious inference is that the event which forms the foundation of the preaching is that described in the immediately preceding verses — the baptism of Jesus, the splitting of the heavens, the descent of the dove, the Spirit driving the Son of God into the wilderness to undergo the temptation of Satan amid wild beasts and ministering angels — in short, the initial victory of the Spirit over Satan. Robinson recognizes that this event is described in language rarely used by Mark, "cosmic language" by which Mark alludes to the cosmic forces at work in the history he records. But he insists that the use of this cosmic language does not entail "a shift from historical involvement to mysticism or otherworldliness." The cosmic struggle depicted in the temptation narrative actually takes place as history in the gospel story which follows.

This brings us to the second stage, the exorcism narratives, which portray the struggle of Jesus not with a disembodied spirit but with demons who act and speak through the organs of the human beings they are said to possess. Robinson reminds us that the idea of demon-possession is not a primitive medical diagnosis but a religious apprehension that illness, and particularly mental illness, is one of the areas where God's reign is challenged by the reign of Satan. The link between the cosmic struggle of the temptation and the historic struggle of the exorcisms is to be found in the Beelzebub controversy, where the binding of the strong man corresponds to the temptation and the plundering of his house to the exorcisms. Thus not only in this narrative

but in all the exorcism narratives men are invited to see in Jesus one who is able to work his cures because he has already achieved an initial victory for the kingdom of God over the kingdom of Satan.

This same invitation is conveyed in the stories of debate between Jesus and his opponents or his disciples. For in these debates the same cosmic struggle is carried on at an even more obviously historical level. When Jesus' opponents approach him Mark tells us repeatedly that they come "tempting him," and when Peter dares to argue with Jesus he is addressed as Satan. Every criticism which the opponents of Jesus bring against him is due to their failure to see in him the dawning of God's reign, and the debates with the disciples arise out of their blindness to the nature of that reign.

Next we are shown how, according to Mark, the cosmic struggle which became historic event in the life of Jesus is to be continued in the life of the church. To believe in Jesus is to become a member of the messianic community and therefore to join in the eschatological struggle.

The one considerable omission from the exegesis of Mark is the Passion narrative. Robinson, indeed, tells us that "in his death Jesus has experienced the ultimate of historic involvement and of diabolic antagonism," but he is not able to support this assertion with citations from Mark to show that Mark himself regarded the Cross in this light, nor does he seem to be aware of a problem at this point. The argument of the book would have been more impressive if a separate chapter had been devoted to the Passion narrative and its place in Mark's theology.

Robinson is well aware that his study of Mark raises theological questions which are beyond the scope of his book, but in his last chapter indicates without elaboration where some of the answers are to be found. Are we, for example, to regard all non-Christian history and institutions as satanic? The answer is to be found in Mark's treatment of the family. Family claims must yield to the claims of Jesus, yet Jesus finds room in the eschatological community for marriage and the family. "The Christian family is for Mark a historical reality which has become eschatological. It can serve as a norm not for destroying other history, but for restoring it and directing it towards its goal."

GEORGE B. CAIRD

Die Mitte der Zeit: Studien zur Theologie des Lukas, by Hans Conzelmann. ("Beiträge zur historischen Theologie," hrg. von Gerhard Ebelong, Bd. 17.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1954. Pp. viii+210.

The merit of this thesis brought to Hans Conzelmann the invitation to his present position of Professor of NT at Zurich. The book is a sequel to his doctoral dissertation, *Die geographischen Vorstellungen im Lukas-evangelium* (submitted at Tübingen in 1950), and was set before the Faculty of Theology in Heidelberg as his *Habilitationsschrift*. It is an exegetical study of the theology of the writer of Luke-Acts.

Conzelmann accuses Form Critics of concentrating too exclusively on segments of

the gospel tradition. He thinks more substantial results may be achieved by applying their method to questions about the framework of the Gospels as we have them. Reflecting a marked kinship in viewpoint with his teacher Rudolf Bultmann, he ignores as unnecessary to his thesis any inquiry about historicity, or about authorship. He asks rather how the writer edited his sources and what this reveals about his concept of Christ and his relation to salvation and the church.

The study begins with an examination of the geographical and topographical references in the Third Gospel. Conzelmann shows that Luke by altering his sources has given to such allusions symbolic meaning. This provides him with the clue to the Lukan concept of Jesus' life and its significance. As he reconstructs the situation, Luke wrote at a time in which the church had come through a period of expectancy of a parousia which had not occurred, and was in the difficult beginning stages of existence in a hostile world. Luke offered a constructive answer to this problem: he reframed the materials at his disposal so that they would fit into a *heilsgeschichtlich* account, a history controlled by the saving plan of God.

This *Heilsgeschichte* has three divisions. First, the time of Israel: this includes John as the last of the prophets, for Luke does not treat the Baptist as an eschatological figure. The key descriptive verse is Luke 16 16. Second, the time of Jesus' work: this is the salvation-time, "*die Mitte der Zeit*," during which Satan is bound (Luke 4 13 and 22 3). This is not the beginning of the era of salvation, but the unique and unrepeatable epoch of Jesus' work. The third period is the time of Christ's exaltation, during which the church on earth must endure hardship and bear witness. These three epochs are bounded on the one side by the creation and on the other by the parousia, but these two events are not integral parts of the *Heilsgeschichte*, and the parousia is no longer expected soon.

To this framework Luke has subordinated all references to geography, chronology, and forms of activity. Accordingly, the divisions of Jesus' ministry have a deliberate geographical basis and, at the same time, theological significance. John's work is only in the region around Jordan, and Jesus is never portrayed as entering this territory. (Luke has no parallel to Mark 1 9, and was probably unaware that Jericho was near Jordan.) Jesus is baptized as one of the people, as everyman, and Luke has eliminated each significance of the Baptist for the ensuing period. The gospel writer has divided Jesus' work into three parts. From 4 1 to 9 50 is the time of collecting witnesses in Galilee, who see the wonder-working of the Son of God and will later bear witness to him. From 9 51—19 27 Jesus is always on his way to Jerusalem. In Mark there had been the secret of the fact of the Messiahship; but in Luke the journey reveals the secret of the nature of the Messiahship. Here God lets Jesus go to his suffering, having strengthened him for the ordeal by the mountain top experience of the transfiguration. The third section is the time of teaching in the temple, which Luke extends beyond the time allowed in his sources. Here Jesus does not speak of destroying the temple but seizes possession of it. The claim of the church to be the true Israel is based on this, and the cleansing of the temple no longer has eschatological significance. Only after the completion of this period does Jesus enter into the city of Jerusalem itself. There he is put to death by a people who thus reject their election as Israel, and there nevertheless Israel has continuity through the disciples.

Conzelmann asserts that Luke has reinterpreted the concept of the kingdom so that for him it is entirely a future reality. The nature and picture of the kingdom, but not the kingdom itself, have drawn near in Jesus. In Luke 9 27 the Markan phrase "having come in power" is eliminated, for Luke has found a substitute for the belief that the parousia was near. In place of the coming of the kingdom stands the timeless idea of the kingdom made "see-able" (*sehbar*, not *sichtbar*) in Jesus. It is only because he wishes to correct the current belief in a soon-to-come parousia that Luke is led in 21 8 ff. to an explanation of the nature and course of the end events. The appeal of the church's message is no longer on the basis of a near-conclusion of the age, but on the fact of a future judgment.

Again, the coming of the Spirit is no longer regarded as an eschatological gift, but is for Luke the opening of a new and longer epoch. The time of the resurrection appearances is a holy time between epochs, and emphasizes the difference between the periods. The resurrection guarantees the truth of a future destiny, the actuality of resurrection, of individual responsibility, of judgment. Man is to draw the consequences, be baptized, and live a life appropriate to a follower of Christ. No fixed place is given to the individual as such in the *Heilsgeschichte*: he has his place in the church. The church it is which, insofar as it is "Israel," represents the continuation of the *Heilsgeschichte* under the leadership of the Spirit.

While Conzelmann gives attention to the modern relevant literature, including the chief works in English, the greatest value of *Die Mitte der Zeit* is found in his fresh, sharp studies in the text of Luke-Acts, especially in the Gospel. This is true of his reconstruction of Lukan theology, and specifically of his examination of passages dealing with the kingdom or containing geographical allusions. Nevertheless, Conzelmann sometimes has imposed various elements of his hypothesis upon passages which are at variance with it. To cite but one example, in Acts 2 the prophecy of Joel is said to have been interpreted as eschatological in Luke's source, but the gift of the Spirit is now considered to be the opening of a longer epoch. However, if Luke deliberately altered his sources to fit this scheme, it is singularly strange that he should retain a phrase such as, "This is that which has been spoken" as introductory to the prophecy, and even repeat "in the last days" within the quotation. The latter phrase is not even found in the original passage in Joel. Can it really be said that Luke has reinterpreted every previous eschatological concept as if nothing eschatological has happened?

Conzelmann is convincing in much that he affirms about the Lukan concept of *Heilsgeschichte*, but not in his thesis that the concept is entirely new and unique with Luke. (His view is, of course, in sharp contrast with that of Cullmann, but he does not directly discuss this.) The writer is said to have created it as a substitute for an earlier eschatology (defined only as near-expectation of the parousia), and to have imposed it on his sources. The difficulty is that these sources are nowhere adequately defined with the single exception of Mark, and even in Mark Conzelmann finds a disarrangement of the church's eschatological idea (p. 187, n. 4). How does he conclude so easily that Luke has in his journey-report imposed on his special source the idea of the necessity of the Messiah's suffering? What are his criteria for determining the ideas which he is so sure Luke completely transformed? The concepts of fulfilment and continuity under

a divine plan are by no means his creation. The most obvious answer is reference to Paul (e. g. Rom 9–11) but *Heilsgeschichte* in some form is present in other NT writings. It is surely not, as Conzelmann would have us believe, a secondary concept created by the author of Luke-Acts.

H. E. TURLINGTON

The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels. Vol. II. *St. Luke and St. Matthew.* By the late Wilfred L. Knox. Edited by H. Chadwick. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. ix+170. $4.00.

When Dr. Knox died in 1950, he left an incomplete manuscript which was often fragmentary. Chadwick has skilfully combined, revised, and supplemented this material to provide a valuable book.

Historical and theological use of the Gospels, Knox holds, must build upon careful study of sources and literary process. His earlier volume (1953) dealt with Markan sources; this work deals essentially with non-Markan material of Matthew and Luke. Knox rejects the idea that Q was a single comprehensive source of such broad scope as Streeter held Q to be, and limits Q to the sections in which Matthew and Luke use common material in the same order (p. 4, this test of having the same order seems doubtful; verbal agreement would seem the basic test). Back of Q, and back of all of the sayings and parables of these two Gospels, Knox discerns a number of short tracts and a considerable number of unattached sayings. Single pericopes would not have served the needs of the church; there had to be many short tracts for use in preaching and teaching. For example, Luke 11 1–13 was a separate tract on prayer; Luke 14 1–24 was a collection of banquet sayings; often Matthew and Luke both had access to the same short written sources such as the three we see used in Luke 12 2–12, 12 13–34, 13 24–28; Matthew had a tract containing a group of parables which he broke up and used in 18 23–35, 20 1 ff., 25 1 ff.

Luke, Knox recalls, tended to preserve his sources in their original form and as entities. Matthew combined sources. In the Sermon on the Mount, for example, he combines Q with a bitterly anti-gentile source and another source giving a summary of the new Torah and three sayings on the great Christian duties. The anti-gentile source, which included also 18 15–22, was "a Manual of Discipline for Jewish Christians not dissimilar to the Zadokite fragment" (p. 133).

The short tract, Knox holds, opened with a brief introduction which led to a saying; other sayings were added, each introduced by some such formula as "and Jesus said"; a question and answer technique might be used; the collection of sayings ended with some impressive or climactic saying. Editorial work of the evangelists is continually discernible, but careful study yields good historical evidence; it is improbable that leaders of the Hellenistic church invented much material. We can identify the interests and methods of the evangelists and of those who shaped the tracts they used, and

reach a fairly clear picture of Jesus. Knox is not skeptical concerning the gospel material on Jesus' thought of himself; he holds that in the title Son of Man Jesus found "an enigmatic title which suggested that he was the fulfillment of the hope of Israel" (p. 143). Jesus used this title of himself, foresaw and foretold his death, and presented himself as a messianic figure in his entry into Jerusalem.

This book is rich in critical detail, fertile in analysis, and instructive even where not convincing. It reminds us that Q is only a hypothetical document and that the transmission of the Synoptic material was a more complex process than simple documentary theories imply. Like form-criticism it pays close attention to the pre-literary process, but it rightly refuses to grant that the church had only separate sayings and parables for use in its teaching. Its identification of specific short tracts is of course hypothetical. But the book is an important step in the attempt to combine the insights of form-criticism with source criticism, and it shows how such study can be carried on without surrender to extreme skepticism.

FLOYD V. FILSON

JESUS IN HIS HOMELAND

by Sherman E. Johnson

UTILIZING much of the new data brought to light by the Dead Sea Scrolls this book shows how Jesus grew up in an atmosphere of political, cultural, and religious turmoil rather than one of seclusion. Here, the commanding figure of Jesus emerges from his own background and the author is able to answer two highly important questions — How did hostility arise against Jesus? and, Why did Christianity so quickly separate from Judaism? With the new data available Dr. Johnson is also able to explain the paradox that Jesus, though rejecting the revolutionary movement of the time, was crucified as a revolutionary. An important book for the biblical scholar. $3.75

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

The Synagogue, by Carl H. Kraeling, with contributions by C. C. Torrey, C. B. Welles, and B. Geiger. ("The Excavations at Dura-Europos," Final Report VIII, Part I, ed. A. Bellinger, F. Brown, A. Perkins, and C. Welles.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956. Pp. xviii+402; plates LXXVIII; plans XII. $15.00.

This magnificent volume describes the Dura synagogue with a fulness of detail which the importance of the material deserves. The plates, of which thirty are in color, enable the reader to realize something of the beauty, as well as the content, of the famous murals. The plans are models of clarity. The history of the building and description and discussion of the murals, by Kraeling, and the accounts of the inscriptions, by Torrey and Welles, are sensibly argued and frequently convincing[1] — virtues not always found in discussions of Dura.[2] Because of these virtues and because it is the final report on the excavation, the book is the essential work for any serious study of the building, and serious study of the building is essential for anyone who wishes to understand ancient Judaism, the Jewish background of Christianity, the origins of Christian art, or the history of the interpretation of the OT.

On the other hand, the book will not completely supersede the earlier publications. This is due, in large part, to no fault of the authors, but to the difficulties inherent in the presentation of archeological material. The reconstruction of a building, or even of a floor plan, is often a matter somewhat subjective. Therefore the student will be well advised to check the reconstructions in the present volume against those in earlier accounts.[3] Similarly, the photographs reproduce the paintings *as restored* for exhibition in Damascus. How drastic the restoration has sometimes been should be inferred not only from Kraeling's occasional references to the changes,[4] but also from a comparison of his plates with those of Du Mesnil du Buisson.[5]

Akin to such over-restoration is over-identification. There are a considerable number of paintings of which only fragments could even be restored; in several cases the fragments are not sufficient to justify the identifications which have been made.[6] Again, some pictures preserved complete, or almost complete, are actually of very

[1] Geiger's arguments, based on the Iranian texts, cannot be included in this statement.

[2] See Kraeling's admirable comments, p. 355.

[3] For instance, the present reconstruction of the earlier house (Plan VIII) connects room 5 with room 4; the prior one connected it with room 6. From the field plan and the text, pp. 28 f., it appears that both reconstructions are equally conjectural. The question is not unimportant, since room 4 may have been used for cultic purposes. The laver basin was beside its entrance, not beside that of the synagogue chamber. In the center of it was an unexplained plaster block, about 2 feet square, projecting about a foot above the floor and having, on its top, a shallow depression marked by fire.

[4] E. g., pp. 172, n. 657; 182, n. 694; 222, n. 880; etc.

[5] *Les Peintures de la Synagogue de Doura-Europos* (Rome, 1939; = "Scripta Pont. Inst. Bib.," No. 86). It should also be noticed that the color printing in Kraeling is not always perfectly accurate. Compare the tops of plates LXIX and LXX, where objects green in one are pink in the other.

[6] So panels NB 2, SB 1, SC 1, SC 2 (cherith), EC 2.

uncertain significance, but have nevertheless been identified[7] — often by supposing they continued the themes of the neighboring pictures. Had these identifications been made only in the discussions of the particular pictures (where they are usually proposed with the necessary caution) there would have been no objection to them. But they are repeated in the section on the interpretation of the paintings and are there included in the data on which other arguments are based. For instance, the account of the biblical subject matter of the paintings (pp. 349 f.) contains 18 extremely dubious items in a list of 41. This seriously compromises the following argument, which tries to represent the decorations as testifying "to an interest in the actual continuity of the historical process" by "a well-organized progression of scenes from the period of the Patriarchs .... through ... the post-exile (*sic*) period, to the expected Messianic age" (p. 350).

Well-organized the scenes certainly are not — supposing the criterion of organization to be historical progression. If we take the scenes of which the interpretation is relatively certain (excluding the sacrifice of Isaac on the Torah shrine, which Kraeling also excludes as belonging to an earlier and primarily symbolic stratum of decoration), we get the following arrangement:

	South Wall	West Wall				North Wall
Top Row				Moses and bush	Moses and Exodus	Jacob's dream
Middle.....		Moses' well				Ark and Philistines
Bottom Row..	Elijah's sacrifice	Elijah's resurrection	Mordecai's triumph	Anointing of David	Finding of Moses	Ezekiel's resurrection.

This is evidently a disjointed collection of scenes illustrating the marvelous interventions (*aretai*) and epiphanies[8] of the deity. Such disjointed collections of *aretai* and *epi-*

[7] So especially the upper central panel, wing panels 3 and 4, and panels WB 2, WB 3, and NC 1, sec. C. The attempt to interpret WB 3 as a historical scene is utterly implausible, and the imposition of historical reference on the top central panel is not much better. The uncertainties concerning the wing panels are sufficiently clear from Kraeling's accounts of them (pp. 232 ff.). As for WB 2, Kraeling's statement that the curtain across the central doorway "has no place in the monumental Temple at Jerusalem" (p. 130) is mistaken (Yoma 54 a, etc.) and his attempt to identify the occasion by the sacrifices is unconvincing. The sacrificial animals shown are a bullock, a ram, something (probably ovine) on the altar, and the red heifer. The first three are standard for all major festivals (Num 28 11–30, 40) and the red heifer is not especially associated with the consecration ceremony (to which K. thinks the scene refers). In Sifre on Num 7 1 the heifer appears merely as an inferred prerequisite; cf. Parah 3.5, which says that the first was sacrificed by Moses — also an inference. The Dura scene probably shows Aaron with the Temple as the ancestor of the Jerusalem priesthood, and the heifer as the most famous of the Jerusalem sacrifices.

[8] The burning bush, Jacob's dream.

phaneiai were typical of Greco-Roman religion[9] and Kraeling has argued very persuasively that the synagogue paintings had their origin in Greco-Roman illustrations of OT material.[10] Such illustrations presumably appealed to the interests of Hellenistic readers, who were often indifferent to historical truth and especially to "the actual continuity of the historical process," but usually avid for miracle stories and tales of occasions when supernatural beings revealed themselves or their powers.[11] The same neglect of context and of historical continuity and the same exaggeration of ancient miracles is notoriously characteristic of the midrashim.

It would be dangerous, however, to impose this aretalogical interest on all the remaining scenes. Kraeling has justly criticized earlier attempts to fit all the paintings into a single pattern.[12] His own attempt has demonstrated that to impose on the pictures of uncertain significance meanings derived by inference from their neighbors results in attribution to the whole set of a historical interest which is probably anachronistic. It is certainly not necessary that all the paintings should have been chosen for the same purposes. Kraeling has argued that the earlier decorations on and over the Torah shrine were of a different type (pp. 361 f.) — "symbolic" rather than "historical." But that the ancient artists or patrons distinguished sharply between these two types is an assumption probably disproved by the difficulty of imposing historical references on all the paintings of the later series — a difficulty Kraeling's work has fully demonstrated.[13] Finally, that the paintings may actually have been discontinuous in type, as well as in subject matter, is suggested by two curious facts: 1) The paintings most difficult of interpretation are those occupying the most prominent positions on the wall everyone faced — i. e. those clustered above the Torah shrine.[14] 2) The pictures showing elements which appear also in the midrashim and targums[15] are almost all of them pictures of which the historical reference, at least, is reasonably clear.

A second criticism which might be made of Kraeling's work would be that these and similar difficulties — the deposits of human bones in the doorways, the magical plaques in the ceiling, the curious object in room 4, the gouging out of the eyes of certain figures (without any conspicuous mutilation of the rest of the paintings), the pagan figures here and there in the pictures (especially on the doors of the building in panel WB 3) — all these difficulties are recognized, but glossed over.[16] Yet it is precisely

[9] See Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. IV, Epiphanie, Pfister, and II and Suppl. VI, Aretalogoi, Crusius, and Aly.

[10] Pp. 392 ff. Unfortunately, the list on p. 393 suffers from the same inclusion of dubious evidence as that noticed above.

[11] For example — to stay within the Jewish tradition — consider the sacrifice of history to episodic epiphanies in such typically Hellenistic works as Chronicles and II Maccabees.

[12] Pp. 213 f., 356, etc. [13] See above, n. 4.

[14] WB 2, WB 3, the central panels and the ring panels.

[15] Kraeling has paid careful attention to these parallels and his work contains a valuable collection of them, summarized on pp. 352–53.

[16] See esp. p. 361.

this fact which gives the work its strength. Interpretation of ancient monuments must proceed from those elements which fit recognizable types and have reasonably certain meanings; they must proceed, i. e., from the normal and the obvious. This rule is admirably followed by Kraeling's work — a systematic, careful effort to explain the Dura paintings primarily by their relation to the OT, next by their relation to the great bulk of Jewish literary material of approximately their own time and area, and then by their relation to the contemporary pagan art of Dura (one of the most original and illuminating aspects of the book).[17] Necessarily, such an effort should leave to one side the things which do not fit, and our objections to Kraeling's work have amounted, all in all, to the complaint that he has not left aside enough. Even so, his work has for the most part the virtue proper to a final report — that of stating the relatively secure results and of leaving for special studies the attempts to explain obscure material by reference to more remote and speculative parallels. If it can be established that such parallels — pseudepigraphic or magical or Philonic or patristic or Iranian — can explain not only isolated difficulties, but the whole complex of the Dura material, better than these to which Kraeling has had most resort, then our notions of Mesopotamian Judaism in the 3rd century will have to be drastically revised. But pending such demonstration, Kraeling's work will remain the basic presentation of the material and of its primary relationships.

MORTON SMITH

[17] Pp. 69, 348 f., etc.

St. John's Gospel, by R. H. Lightfoot. Edited by C. F. Evans. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. xii+368. $4.80.

The editor of this volume has performed a distinct service in making available to scholarship the work on the Fourth Gospel of the late Professor Lightfoot.

Lightfoot's orientation toward the Gospel is indicated in an introduction to the main part of the book which consists of a commentary. The approach is a balanced one, sometimes approaching a conservative position. He does not deny the possibility, for example, that John the son of Zebedee may have written the Gospel. Curiously enough he finds some traits in the author which he finds also in the "younger" son of Zebedee. However, he does not press the case for apostolic authorship, and agrees that if John wrote the Gospel, he has shown a remarkable ability "to move with the times."

Quite properly Lightfoot rejects the theory of widespread dislocation of the text. He emphasizes, on the contrary, the extreme care with which the book was composed, stressing its unity and coherence. A general rule of interpretation, related to the unity of the book, is that one must "always try to explain St. John by St. John."

Lightfoot does not subscribe to the position that the evangelist was indifferent to historical fact. His approach to history was intended "to draw out the significance of the original events." When Luke and John are compared we may say that "whereas

St. Luke set the theology in an historical framework, St. John set history in a theological framework. The difference is one of degree only; but it is a real difference" (p. 23).

Lightfoot rejects the position, common in some circles, that John worked independently of the Synoptics: ". . . This book is written in the belief that the evangelist knew not only the synoptic tradition, but the three synoptic gospels themselves" (p. 29). Theologically, according to Lightfoot, John stands nearest to Mark, but in his relation to Mark and the other Synoptics John is their interpreter (p. 34). This is an interesting position. In the opinion of the reviewer it places John's use of the Synoptics in proper perspective, although he would go a step further and assert that John would not hesitate to "correct" the Synoptics as well.

With regard to the Prologue, Lightfoot holds that it is "designed to enable the reader to understand the doctrines of the book" (p. 11). "Logos" is used by John "to explain how God expresses His nature and purpose to His creatures, and, above all, to man." The incarnation "was the enclosing of the universal Logos in a single divine human personality . . ." (p. 56). It was this synthesis that gave Christianity the dynamic to overcome the world, for it brought together in a single personality the two poles between which the human spirit always moves.

In the commentary proper, Lightfoot divides the Gospel into four main sections: the prologue or introduction (1–2 11), the public manifestation of the Lord (2 12–12 50), the passion and exaltation of the Lord (13 1–20 31), appendix (21 1–25). An exposition of the *pericope adulterae* (7 53–8 11) is given at the end. Each of the major sections is subdivided into natural units of thought, thus dispensing with a verse by verse interpretation. Good biblical and subject indexes make the volume more valuable.

It is impossible here to enter upon a detailed description of the commentary section. It is sufficient to say that the treatment is exceedingly stimulating both as to outline and exegesis. The various themes are treated with discrimination and insight, leaving the impression that the author has entered into an appreciation of the thought of the Fourth Gospel not frequently attained. In this respect Lightfoot has penetrated deeply into the thought-life of the Gospel itself and not allowed himself to be sidetracked into a subsidiary study of Hellenistic religions.

ERIC L. TITUS

Dødehavsrullene [The Dead Sea Scrolls], by Arvid S. Kapelrud. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1956. Pp. 95.

It is not so easy, after all, to tell the Qumran story and to introduce the Dead Sea scrolls material to a wider public. Kapelrud — Mowinckel's successor as professor of OT at the University of Oslo, Norway — has done it well. His mature philological judgment and his well-documented experience in dealing with messianic concepts and apocalyptic features in and around the OT make him a dependable guide, who is able to see with his own eyes and to go behind the suggestions and counter-suggestions of all the eager Qumran students and Dead Sea fans.

His book follows the usual pattern. A full-length chapter on the discovery and the archeological findings up to 1956 is followed by a presentation of the main documents (including 1QSa, 1Q Gen Apocr and 4QpNah) with original and suggestive translations of crucial and illuminating passages (e. g., 1QpHab 11. 2–8; 1QSa 1. 6–17 [Kapelrud argues for 1QSa as the continuation of 1QS, pp. 39 ff.]; 1QSa 2. 11–22; 1QS 11. 10–15; large portions of 1QM and among 1QH such psalms as 2. 20–30; 3. 6–18 and 19–36; 7. 26–32). There is also a concluding chapter on the Community.

Kapelrud is inclined to follow the consensus of Qumran scholarship both in dating and in interpretation. But he does so by leaving the uncertainties where they should be left. His discussions with Dupont-Sommer — they constitute perhaps the red thread of his argument — are on a high level and not in the "black and white" method.

It is to be hoped that Kapelrud will find time to go beyond this introductory work and furnish us with some more specific studies on the Scrolls. It appears that his *Joel Studies* (1948) and *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (1952) form a good base for a full-fledged investigation of the martial apocalyptics of the War Scroll (cf., e. g. *Keret*) and a fresh approach to the Messianism of the Qumran texts. The references to Near Eastern parallels found in Gaster's edition of the Scrolls should not be discarded together with his anachronistic mysticism-interpretation. They suggest a rewarding avenue to this material. Kapelrud's grasp of the Qumran issues raises the hope of his return to such a task.

KRISTER STENDAHL

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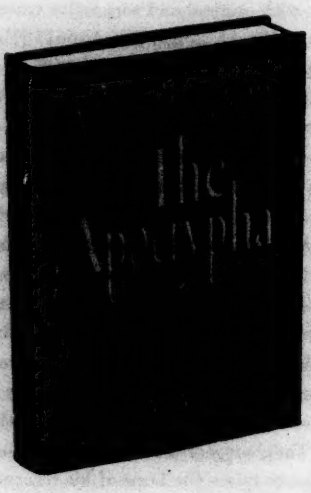

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OLD TESTAMENT SECTION

The Interpreter's Bible. Vol. VI. *Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Twelve Prophets.* New York-Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956. Pp. xii+1144. $8.75.

The sixth volume of the Interpreter's Bible is as weighty as its predecessors. More than a score of scholars have contributed to it, and the 1144 pages cover Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Twelve Prophets. It is impossible to review the work in detail, or even to mention all the contributors, but failure to mention a contributor does not imply that his article is of less value than those discussed.

Th. J. Meek has his own opinion of the meter in the Lamentations: "Since parallelism in thought is basic to Hebrew poetry, the balancing units are thought units; hence each stress unit must be a thought unit, no word can be given two stresses, despite current practice to the contrary." Whatever one's opinion of this theory may be, the reviewer agrees with Meek's conclusion: "An elastic metrical interpretation that fits the facts is surely better than a rigid one to which the facts have to be fitted" (p. 4).

The commentary on Ezekiel is the main article in this volume. In an excellent introduction to this tangled work H. G. May has included a brief but fine history of its interpretation. He is of the opinion that Ezekiel, being a priest and member of the Zadokite family, was deported to Babylonia by Nebuchadrezzar in 597 B. C. He became familiar with much in the culture of the Babylonians, and "it is not improbable that Ezekiel may have witnessed here in the city of Babylon the famous New Year festival with its re-enactment of the victory of Marduk over the powers of chaos at creation and the fixing of the fates" (p. 58). In 592 Ezekiel had his call to prophesy, and in 591 he was allowed to go to Jerusalem. It is not quite clear when he returned to Babylonia, but he was present there when Jerusalem was destroyed in 586.

May sees no reason to doubt that a real vision experience lies behind chaps. 1–3, 8–11, however much conscious literary effort may have been used in the telling of the experiences. He speaks in favor of the originality of the throne-chariot concept in Ezekiel, which includes also its appearance in chaps. 40–48 (p. 47).

His discussion of chaps. 40–48 is an interesting one, with fine details. He considers the dates in the book "by and large reliable, or at least probable, even though, like some other elements of the introductory formulas, they might belong to the editor" (p. 60). The enigmatic thirtieth year in 1 1 he takes as the latest date in the book, that is, 568–567, possibly the year Ezekiel wrote his final edition of his prophecies. These examples will suffice to show that May is more in favor of the traditional view than of Hölscher's and Irwin's view of Ezekiel. His exegesis is solid and well balanced.

The Book of Daniel has two introductions, one by the exegete, Arthur Jeffery, and one by the expositor, Gerald Kennedy. The exegesis is comprehensive and detailed, as it should be with such a difficult book.

J. Mauchline's introduction to the Book of Hosea gives a good review of the changing points of view on Hosea's marriage. He is himself of the opinion that Hosea married only Gomer (1 2), and that the relevant phrase in 3 1 has to be translated: "Go on

loving," not "Go again, love." "Taken in this way the words are an instruction to Hosea to go on loving his wife Gomer in spite of all her unfaithfulness" (p. 562).

J. A. Thompson has written a good and instructive introduction to the Book of Joel. He defends — rightly, in the opinion of the reviewer — the unity of the book. He stresses the fact that Joel has borrowed widely. In his view "the established quotations help to date Joel as one of the latest of the prophets" (p. 732). "Malachi and Obadiah come from about the middle of the fifth century, and allowing sufficient time for these books to be accepted would place Joel about 400 B. C." Thompson gives good reasons for his view, but like some of the other commentators he is too much bound to the literary-critical point of view. The prophets did not quote from books. They worked and preached in a living oral tradition, and they quoted freely words from this tradition and — what is important — from the cult. Oracles used at the great festivals were taken over directly by the prophets.

H. E. W. Fosbroke puts much weight on the geographical background of Amos and very little on the elegant and elaborate style of the book, surely not conceived in the "wilderness."

R. E. Wolfe defends to a certain degree the unity of the Book of Micah, i. e. he finds utterances of the prophet in chaps. 1–3 and 6 1 — 7 4.

The commentary on the Book of Zechariah is shared by D. Winton Thomas and R. C. Dentan. As could be expected these competent scholars have done a fine piece of work.

Before reading this book the reviewer had opportunity to read only the preceding volume of this great work. Even though he did not agree with the commentators in all details, he found it an excellent volume, well written and finely produced. The present volume represents the same high standard and is a real gold mine for biblical scholars, preachers, and interested laymen.

ARVID S. KAPELRUD

The Geography of the Bible: A Study in Historical Geography, by Denis Baly. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. Pp. xiv+303, 97 photographs, 48 maps and diagrams. $4.95.

This work comes from the pen of a man who is a trained geographer familiar with modern biblical scholarship, and has therefore its own peculiar contribution to offer in spite of the numerous recent publications on the historical geography of Palestine. Professor Baly has had the advantage of fifteen years' residence in Palestine, during which time he visited repeatedly nearly every part of the land, so that by training as well as experience he is eminently qualified for the production of such a book.

Unlike other recent works organized historically, this book is organized along lines appropriate to the study of geography. The first main section describes the geology and physiography of the land, the climate, soils, fauna and flora, economic geography,

and historical routes of communication. This brings together in very useful form a great amount of information: e. g., the numerous rainfall and temperature graphs for the various sections of the land. The second part treats systematically each of the five regions of Palestine from the coastal plains to the desert, describing particularly the underlying geological structure, but treating also of the effect of geography on history. Each chapter is accompanied by one or more sketch maps, but the weakest part of the book lies here. The geographical description in the text is at times so detailed that it becomes very difficult reading without an equally detailed map to consult. The sketch maps are usually very sketchy indeed in comparison with the text. A second edition should rectify this situation either by carefully correlating text and maps, or simplifying the text. The reviewer would be sorry to see the latter alternative followed, but is fully aware of the difficulties involved in the production of large-scale detailed maps. He is also convinced that this is one of the greatest needs of historical geography today. Even a reprinting of the old Survey maps would be of tremendous help.

Although the outstanding value of this book undoubtedly lies in its treatment of geography as such, the sub-title indicates that the focus of interest lies in the biblical period, including both OT and NT times. Any systematic historical treatment is of course precluded by its organization along geographical lines. Historical information is thus inevitably episodic in nature, but available in subject and biblical indices.

Particularly interesting to this reviewer is the fact that Baly does not hesitate to incorporate many observations of a religious nature in this work. Here he stands somewhat in the tradition of George Adam Smith, writing out of the conviction that a historic geography which leaves the religious environment out of account, and a study of the Bible which does not take seriously "the nature of the Biblical argument, are both of them studies without integrity." Sympathetic as we may be to this insight that our traditional disciplinary boundaries are simply administrative conveniences and particular methods of treating particular problems, the reviewer feels that the author has been led to incorporate some passages which make no contribution to his subject, and would fit better in a book of sermons or religious meditations. Nevertheless, there is much that is worthwhile in Baly's observations dealing with the geographical facts underlying many religious statements of the Bible, particularly in the Psalms. It is certainly a worthwhile attempt to correlate ancient man's experience of the world in which he lived with his statements of religious feeling and conviction.

Baly emphasizes quite strongly throughout the second section the effect of geography upon history. Here the reviewer has some misgivings, particularly upon reading sentences like the following: "It was the fact that this vital area [i. e. the plain of Esdraelon] lay within the boundaries of the northern kingdom which, more than any other single factor, led to its downfall a century and a quarter before the collapse of Judah, on its windswept mountains to the south" (p. 148). There have been too many attempts in recent years to reduce history to a function of factors which have little to do with man as a human being. This dehumanization of history seems particularly inappropriate in a work which has such an avowedly theistic point of view as this one.

This criticism has little to do, however, with the main purpose of the book. It is

very useful, and on the whole well written for the general public which can pass over rapidly the detailed geological descriptions in part two. It is to be hoped that the work will be expanded in some future edition, for some three hundred pages is far too limited a compass for the subject matter. It is amazing how much information has been packed into so little space.

GEORGE E. MENDENHALL

The Old Testament Since the Reformation, by Emil G. Kraeling. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. Pp. 320. $5.00.

The present book interprets the use of the OT from the time of Luther to the present. Seldom does one meet a book with such a mass of detail over so wide an area of coverage. The chief problem around which this book revolves is that of the authority of the OT in the Christian Church: a problem which to Dr. Kraeling "is not just one of many," but "is the master problem of theology."

We can give only in barest outline the content of this book which begins with the Reformation thinking of Luther and Calvin. In both men Kraeling finds the tendency to read the OT in the light of the NT, but in Luther there was more of a liberal tendency than in the biblicist Calvin. It was this greater freedom with respect to the authority of the OT that made it easier for historical-critical studies to develop in the Lutheran Church. These philological and historical studies, in men such as Capellus, Morinus, and Richard Simon, eventually led to the breakup of orthodox biblicism. This breakup of orthodoxy was coupled with the creation of a basis for a later progressive-revelation philosophy and the reliance on reason in men such as Descartes and Spinoza. Reason was toppled by Kant, but in the ensuing Hegelianism practiced by many biblical scholars, the OT still had little authority. With Ritschl, and his stress on a moral order and history, we begin in earnest the historical-critical study of the OT which in many ways reached its culmination in 1934 in the *Einleitung* of Eissfeldt (2nd ed., 1956). The culmination of this work has been tempered by the impact of Karl Barth and his stress on the Word of God. It is the result of this impact on critical studies that leads Kraeling to devote his last five chapters to the contemporary situation in terms of the movements now afoot. The titles of the chapters will illustrate the content of this last section: The Revival of the NT Approach, The OT and the Existential Question, The OT as Antithesis to Christianity, Recent Discussions, and Toward a Biblical Theology? This can only indicate the scope of the book which deals with both biblical and theological scholarship. As far as the reviewer knows, it is the only such book in English on the subject.

Kraeling has listed the problem of the authority of the OT as the "master problem of theology" and organized his material around this problem. But is this really the basic problem? It seems to the reviewer that this problem is only a corollary of the much larger problem of the knowledge of God. Practically all modern theology accepts the spelling out of the limitation of man's theoretical knowledge of God and thus the ques-

tion becomes, how do we know God? An answer to this question is presupposed by every theologian and biblical scholar who concerns himself with the authority of the OT. It is this larger problem — the problem of knowledge — which allows us to see the ebb and flow of the authority of the OT in the Christian church.

Instead of organizing his material around this larger question, Kraeling puts the biblical scholars and theologians into juxtaposition largely on the basis of chronological and geographical considerations and allows each to speak on the authority of the OT. By this organization, much of the scarlet thread running through biblical studies is lost. It would seem that this continuity could better be illustrated by relating the authority of the Bible to a man's total thought and the theological movements since the Reformation. Part of this difficulty, no doubt, must be laid at the doorstep of the specialization required in religious scholarship.

The book as a whole serves at least two valuable functions. The first consists in the vast amount of material placed at one's finger-tips. Kraeling has done a masterful job in gathering and condensing articles and books by many of the leading biblical scholars and theologians since the Reformation. More significantly, the book is a serious attempt to show historically the larger scope of OT scholarship. The author's own position on the authority of the OT, largely Ritschlian, comes through at various points, and while we may disagree with it, the book will stand as a valuable source book for all who are interested in the OT and its interpretation.

D. GLENN ROSE

Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B. C., transcribed and edited with translation and notes by G. R. Driver . . ., with help from a typescript by E. Mittwoch, W. B. Henning, H. J. Polotsky, and F. Rosenthal. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954. Pp. xi+59+24 plates, folio.

The Aramaic documents in this volume were acquired from a dealer in Egypt by L. Borchardt. They consist mainly of letters, written on leather, which contain "instructions of an official or semi-official nature issued by the Persian satrap of Egypt or other high-ranking Persian officers to subordinate Persian administrative officers in Egypt." They "deal for the most part with . . . the administration of the domain-lands in Egypt held by highly placed Persian officers and the difficulties arising out of the mutual relations of the local officers of the administration to one another and to the subject population" (p. 2).

The letters are not dated, but there is no doubt as to their time of origin, since most of them were sent by Arsham, satrap of Egypt, known to us from a dated document from Elephantine, and other sources, in the late 5th century B. C. E.

The letters were sent to Egypt, as some of them indicate, from Susa and Babylon. There are 13 more or less complete letters and some fragments. The book has an appendix dealing with Arsham in the different sources, a glossary, and plates of the letters.

It goes without saying that the material has been handled adequately by Driver and the others mentioned above. In a previous review,[1] I dealt with the Kraeling papyri. The material edited by Driver contains no legal documents; "Languages in Contact," is the principal aspect which concerns us here. Indeed, the editor points out examples of this phenomenon in every document. Persian loan words, and constructions that seem to go back to the Persian, abound in these documents. This is only what we should expect.

The letters are full of interest for historians of Persia and Egypt. But they should prove of value also to scholars interested in the problem of the Aramaic dialects in the period of "Reichsaramäisch," and another closely connected with it: namely the origin both as to time and place of Biblical Aramaic.

While it is not possible to discuss these matters in a review,[2] the issues involved can be sketched briefly. As is well known, the Middle Aramaic dialects are divided into Eastern and Western branches. How old is this division? W. Baumgartner in a thoroughgoing article[3] came to the conclusion that Reichsaramäisch, which was used as a written language throughout the Persian empire from India to Egypt, was for all practical purposes uniform and without dialectic divisions. Since Biblical Aramaic belongs to Reichsaramäisch, there seemed to be no way of fixing its provenience on the basis of the language.

The situation has been altered by the appearance of this volume of Aramaic inscriptions. When Baumgartner wrote his article, there were very few Aramaic documents from the territory of the later Eastern dialects, practically none at all dating to the Persian period. Now we have comparatively sizable texts that originated in the eastern part of the Persian empire, i. e., in the domain of later East Aramaic.

In these new *eastern* Reichsaramäisch texts, distinctively East-Aramaic linguistic traits appear. For example, in document VII, line 3, we read: שמיע לי to be translated "I have heard" (and not: "I hear"). The editor did not notice[4] that this is the earliest example of the קטיל לי construction which occurs in Syriac, Mandaic, and the Babylonian Talmud, as the expression of the present perfect = "I have killed." This is a clear-cut East-Aramaic construction which does not occur in any West-Aramaic dialect. In East Aramaic it became dominant to the extent that it eventually dislodged the old Semitic perfect entirely and in the Neo-Syriac dialects there arose a new set of tenses based on this construction. The fact that it does not occur in the Western dialects, indicates that another language is the source of this construction, perhaps Old Persian; e. g., *manā kartam* 'done by me,' 'I have done' = עביד לי in East Aramaic.

In the matter of word order, the new documents exhibit East-Aramaic affinities,

[1] *JBL*, LXXIII (1954), 261 ff.; cf. also my article "New Aramaic Texts," *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 233 ff.

[2] An extensive review article will be published in one of the forthcoming issues of *JAOS*.

[3] "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel," *ZAW*, 1927, pp. 81 ff.

[4] I have explained this construction in my publication of this document in *Kedem*, II, 66–74.

reflecting the greater freedom of the Eastern dialects in the position of subject, verb, and object. This freedom in word order has long been regarded as the result of Akkadian influence. This datum assists us in reexamining the Elephantine papyri edited by Cowley. It is apparent that in the matter of word order, the documents of the Cowley volume are divided into two groups: 1) the deeds, where the word order is more "Semitic"; 2) the administrative documents, the Aḥiqar story (but not the proverbs) and the Behistun inscription which in this respect resemble the Driver documents.

This was only to be expected. On the one hand, the deeds preserve a traditional format, the wording of which is not easily changed, and still reflect the old Aramaic word order, represented by the Aramaic inscriptions of Syria. Non-official letters and ostraca written by Jews in Elephantine — the only inhabitants of Elephantine whose Western Aramaic background cannot be doubted — also exhibit substantially the same word order. Traits of West Aramaic even slip into official documents written by the Jewish community. On the other hand, the Behistun inscription and the Aḥiqar story, which have an eastern provenience, exhibit the word order of East Aramaic, as do also the administrative documents written by scribes trained in Reichsaramäisch, which itself originated in the east.

With regard to Biblical Aramaic, which in word order and other traits is of the Eastern type, and has scarcely any Western characteristics at all, it is plausible to conclude that it originated in the East. A final verdict on this matter, however, must await the publication of all the Aramaic texts from Qumran.

E. Y. KUTSCHER

I predecessori d'Israele: studi sulle più antiche genti semitiche in Siria e Palestina, by Sabatino Moscati. Rome, Dott. Giovanni Bardi, 1956. Pp. 140; 5 tables. Lire 3,000.

Although every history of ancient Israel and every treatment of the ancient Near East or of the Semitic peoples and their languages touches of necessity on the problem of the populations living in Canaan and Syria before the days of Moses and Joshua, no detailed treatment of the topic before this book has been available since the publication of F. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* (Leipzig, 1911) and B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas*, I (Giessen, 1930). Prof. Moscati of the University of Rome has rendered us a service by filling this vacuum. The book is divided into three parts: the origins, the Canaanites, the Amorites.

The assumption held by some modern scholars (O. Eissfeldt, M. Noth, etc.) according to which Semitic peoples invaded Canaan about 3000 B. C. is seriously questioned by Moscati. The evidence for this theory is found in Egyptian representations of Asiatics on Old Kingdom (2850–2200 B. C.) monuments, and in Palestinian and Syrian geographical names. Moscati admits that Egyptian artists depict a "Syrian" racial type, but denies that it is Semitic; in reality there is no "Semitic" race. As for the geographical terminology of ancient Palestine and Syria, Moscati admits that even if some terms were actually Semitic (*Beth Šemeš, Beth Yerah*, Jericho, Megiddo,

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Lebanon, Jordan, *Yabboq*, Ai, etc.), they could be explained by occasional groups of people speaking Semitic languages living in Palestine; but most of the names are not unquestionably Semitic, and if Semitic cannot be certainly assigned to a specific Semitic language. Moscati concludes that Palestine and Syria were not conquered by Semitic-speaking populations in the third millennium.

Moscati notes that the earliest occurrences of the name "Canaan" (1450–1350 B. C.) in Akkadian literature, mostly the Amarna Letters (*kinaḫni*, *kinaḫḫi*, or the like) and in Egyptian literature (after 1450) refer to a region and rarely to a nation; Canaan is not mentioned by this name in the Mesopotamian Assyro-Babylonian texts. In Ugaritic texts "Canaanean" occurs once (*y'l kn'ny*) about 1400 B. C., and in Phoenician literature *kn'n* is found, rarely, in Hellenistic times. In the OT, "Canaan" at first means "Phoenicia" or the Mediterranean coast, but it comes to include the hinterland as far as the Jordan and even (Gen 50 11) a region in Transjordan. Occasionally the LXX renders "Canaan" and cognates by "Phoenicia" and cognates (Exod 16 35; Josh 5 1; and, we may add, LXX Job 40 25 (Rahlfs 40 20), Hebrew 40 30, English 41 6). E. A. Speiser (*Language*, XII [1936], 121–26; R. H. Pfeiffer and E. A. Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XVI [1935–36], 121 f.) proved that "Canaan" was derived from the Hurrian *kinaḫḫu* meaning a variety of 'red purple' exactly as in Greek *Phoinikē* is derived from *phoinix* ('red purple'; cf. LXX Isa 1 18). Moscati concludes that "Canaan" as a geographical term arose about 1500 B. C.

The name of the Amorites is derived from the Akkadian *Amurrū* (Sumerian, MAR.TU) which in the third millennium B. C. indicated a region west of Mesopotamia, i. e., Syria in a wide sense, and its population. In the first half of the second millennium the Amorites founded in Babylonia the dynasty of Hammurabi; they are often mentioned about 1700 in the texts from Alalaḫ and Mari, and they have a language and a religion with individual characteristics; in the Amarna letters *Amurrū* is used for a definite state in Syria. In the OT, "Amorite" is not a region but a population living in Syria, in its mountains, in Palestine, and in Transjordan. This variety of meanings shows that "Amorite" was a vague term used in different epochs with a specific geographic or ethnic meaning.

Moscati's investigation is valuable chiefly in a negative sense: it shows that some views still held by scholars are without foundation in the sources. Positively the book is useful for its collection of the historical evidence and for the caution of Moscati in refusing to accept a possibility or even a probability as an actual fact.

ROBERT H. PFEIFFER

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